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# **Soviet Union**

***KOMMUNIST***

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# Soviet Union

## KOMMUNIST

No 15, October 1987

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## KOMMUNIST

No 15, October 1987

[Translation of the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow 18 times per year.]

### EDITORIAL—The Calling of Socialist Culture 18020003a Moscow *KOMMUNIST* in Russian No 15, Oct 87 (signed to press 5 Oct 87) pp 3-14

[Text] In September 1918, Vladimir Ilich Lenin, who was recovering from his wounds, was visited by M. Gorkiy. Their relationship at that time was strained. In 1917-1918, Gorkiy had published in the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*, the organ of the Mensheviks-Internationalist, a cycle of articles "On Revolution and Culture," under the title of "Untimely Thoughts," in which he accused the bolsheviks of "savage coarseness," "lack of culture," historical haste, etc. Although he gave the bolsheviks their due ("the best among them are splendid people of whom, in time, Russian history will be proud and whose energy will be the admiration of your children and grandchildren"), he mercilessly and fiercely exposed their imaginary and real errors. It seemed as though the long friendship between Lenin and Gorkiy had been irreparably destroyed. Gorkiy's thoughts were so "untimely" that had this happened at a latter date, the proletarian writer should have been thrown out of the revolution and socialism immediately and forever, and listed in the enemy camp. The gravity of the situation at that time was so great that no comparison between it and latter times are possible, when the question of the attitude toward any "mistaken" or "doubting" artist arose once again. However, even during the most difficult and critical situations, Lenin cared for the people. He believed that anything that was "temporary, extraneous and alien" in Gorkiy would vanish, and he was right. What united Lenin with Gorkiy was stronger than what could divide them, albeit temporarily. What mattered more was the good of the toiling people and the country, and the present and future of culture. At that September 1918 meeting, Gorkiy was told: "...Tell the intelligentsia to follow us. Do you believe that it sincerely serves the interests of justice? What is the problem? Come to us...."

Lenin taught us unforgettable lessons in restraint, principle-mindedness and tolerance, respect for the originality and dignity of the individual and for talent and the search for the truth by the artists. These were lessons of far-sightedness and human and political perspicacity.

"Come to us..."

The bolsheviks never conceived of or made the revolution for the sake of debunking and destroying culture and its legacy and values, as a historical action without the participation of the Russian intelligentsia. Fabrications to this effect are absurd. The choice made by the

intelligentsia, and not only by it alone, was dramatically difficult for understandable reasons but, nonetheless, the truth of the revolution was, "come to us."

Today's turn of our thoughts and memories to Lenin and his legacy, his understanding of culture and the cultural revolution, and his experience and principles followed in ideological struggle and polemics are not ritualistic, as was frequently the case in the past. The reason is that this legacy has neither been exhausted nor fully realized, that today we cannot find any other such necessary experience and that our return to Lenin and his time means a return to the spiritual and moral forces of the revolution, which no subsequent harsh historical circumstances were able to distort or diminish.

This return and the current flexible and attentive approach to problems of culture and to its growing complex variety are codified in the post-April party documents.

This is a new approach, compared to the pragmatic or simply fearful-circumstantial, arbitrary bureaucratic "control" of art and the entire area of culture, which was practiced during the period of stagnation and before it. However, this approach is essentially traditional, for it goes back to the principles and standards of Leninist cultural policy and the historical lessons it taught.

Ever since their period of clandestinity, immigration, tsarist exile and jails, the bolsheviks had a party which relied on the best achievements of global social thinking and the experience and moral traditions of progressive human culture. It is mindlessness and ignorance which ignore this. The spiritual and moral energy displayed by Lenin and his supporters had its origins not only in the impressions from and study of Russian social reality and not only in the theory of Marx and Engels, or the theory and practice of the Russian revolutionary democracy, but also the sum of all previous culture and the ideas and characters of the great Russian literature. Suffice it to mention Lenin's programmatic work "What Is to Be Done?" which was written at the dawn of the revolutionary movement of the Russian working class.

In 1928, recalling Lenin, Gorkiy said: "We do not reject our heritage, Lenin said 35 years ago and proved, with his entire life and work, that he indeed did not reject anything valuable in bourgeois culture."

V.I. Lenin's famous statement on enriching the mind with "the knowledge of the entire wealth developed by mankind," and the ability "to absorb the sum total of human knowledge" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, pp 305-306), addressed to the Komsomol youth in 1920, was essentially a program for communist education and culture. However, as time went on its implementation was made difficult: access to "all knowledge" gradually narrowed; not personally experienced but "ready-made" conclusions, against which V.I. Lenin cautioned, led to schematizing, to

simplifying the Marxist outlook. Memorized and "sloganezed" communism, which was understood easily and perceived as part of one's position ("communist boastfulness") was rejected by Lenin as were any superficiality, high-handedness and pressure in cultural affairs.

Breathing the air of the revolution can make one dizzy. It seemed to some that novelty had almost been decreed and that everything—art, way of life, language and even love—was subject to revolutionary remaking. The words of the proletarian anthem on the destruction of the "old world" "to its foundations" were interpreted literally, both by the most fierce supporters of the revolution and by its enemies and ill-wishers (this is still the case today). Sometimes, without going deep into the matter, revolutionary enthusiasm for the new is interpreted as a sinister embodiment of the idea of a nihilistic destruction of Russian national culture, in which case there is deliberate refusal to see the sociopsychological climate of the revolutionary years (sharp and even merciless class division, the romanticism of universal change and "reforming," the excitement, etc.), but, which is particularly important, the sharpness of the systematic class perception of all facts of reality, including the arts. And if here and there "pockets of nobility" were dislocated or libraries were burned in bonfires, these were neither comprehensive nor "organized" phenomena, the reasons for which should be sought not in malicious actions by "nihilists"-wreckers or the "savagery" of the people, but age-old serfdom education, the accumulated class hurt, dislike and hatred and, finally, the fact that wealth, privilege and culture were frequently conceived as being one and the same, something alien and repelling, distant and hostile to the peasant and the soldier.

Both the Sovnarkom and the RKP(b) Central Committee Politburo realized that in the whirlpool of the revolution cultural values could suffer and had to be protected. During the first months of the Soviet system decrees were passed on locating and registering monuments of culture and ancient times, banning the export and sale abroad of items of particular artistic and historical value, on the preservation of libraries and book repositories, the nationalization of the Tretyakov and other art galleries, preserving Yasnaya Polyana, allocating more funds for cultural-educational and publishing activities and the approval and initial implementation of the plan for monument propaganda; Izdatelstvo Vsemirnaya Literatura was set up, and so on. Following the transfer of the government to Moscow, V.I. Lenin toured the Kremlin and took steps to protect the Kremlin's historical relics and to repair the buildings which had suffered in the fighting.

All of this occurred in an extremely tense period, when the question of "to be or not to be?" was of an extremely dramatic validity to the bolsheviks.

The policy of the young Soviet Republic in the area of culture was confident, far-sighted and fearless. The republic did not fear the noisy discord of groups, associations, unions, and studios in literature, graphic arts,

motion pictures and the theater. The party's cultural policy was based on an awareness of its moral force and justice, the attractiveness of its ideals, the social gains which had already been attained and trust in the creative intelligentsia, its knowledge and talent.

We know V.I. Lenin's feelings toward the theoreticians and practitioners of "proletarian culture." He did not support the idea of a new "proletarian culture," countering it with "the development of the best examples, traditions and results of existing culture, from the viewpoint of a Marxist outlook and the conditions of the life and struggle of the proletariat in the age of its dictatorship." Equally well-known is Lenin's rejection of "leftism" in art: his personal artistic taste was "old-fashioned" and "conservative" rather than "progressive." This was the old-fashioned taste of a Russian intellectual, raised in the spirit of the great realistic art of 19th century Russia. However, Lenin's disapproval of the "new language" in painting and literature was not turned or transformed either by him or by the people's commissar of education into a system of prohibitions, restrictions or persecutions. Art was given the opportunity to find its own solution to its own crises and labyrinths; "prohibitions" could only hinder and hold back the finding of such solutions and disturb the naturalness and freedom of artistic life.

The breath and tolerance of the revolution toward the past and, therefore, toward what had been inherited from the past, were expressed, in particular, in the Sovnarkom's approval of a list of the great names of mankind to be commemorated in monuments based on a plan for monument propaganda. Some of them (Dostoyevskiy, Bakunin, Mikhaylovskiy, Lavrov, the "March 1 People," and others) were subsequently "dropped" from the public memory from long periods of time or else were subject to harsh criticism, without any understanding being shown for their historical role and significance. At that time, however, in the summer of 1918, the revolution honored these names and felt itself their heir, as marching in their historical ranks.

The first Soviet decade preserved this fearlessness of the revolution and its intellectual breath and Lenin's understanding of the pace, trends and nature of the cultural revolution and a Leninist truly party approach to the phenomena of literature and the arts.

According to N.K. Krupskaya, to Lenin Russian literature was a "tool for the study of life." Whether or not Vladimir Ilich agreed with an artist, as a politician he was interested in the view of the artist on social reality and man, the nature of this view and its historical accuracy or limitations. Lenin's harsh views on some of L. Tolstoy's enthusiasms ("a crazy preaching of 'nonresistance to evil' and to violence") were only part of the overall view on the great artist who had given "first-rate works of world literature," which had expressed the



ideas and moods of the Russian peasantry on the eve of the revolutionary age. Tolstoy's brilliance and power of his talent and personality had Lenin's tremendous admiration and respect.

According to Lenin, the attitude of a serious politician toward the artist is not reduced to "supporting," "flattering" or, conversely, "pointing out" errors, "correcting" or even "angrily condemning." To Lenin the most important thing is to understand the contradictions within reality and the human thoughts and searches which are reflected in a work of art, the new social knowledge which it contributes and the lessons which should be drawn from it by the conscious participant in the revolution. Such a perception of literature is radically different from any open scorn for the artistic knowledge and opinions of the artist as being somehow "lesser" and "subordinate" to political thinking, somehow "doubtful" and "nonmandatory."

"A talented booklet," was Lenin's reaction to a collection of stories by A. Averchenko, which had been published in Paris in 1921. The author, Lenin wrote, is a White Guard who can hate to the point of insanity. His "boiling hatred" of the revolution brought to life "outstandingly powerful and outstandingly weak aspects of this highly talented booklet." This meant that through the hatred and with the hatred something which Averchenko knew well, remembered and experienced came out—the truth. Lenin's conclusion was that "in my view, some of his stories should be reprinted. Talent must be encouraged" (op cit., vol 44, pp 249-250).

Clearly extant in Lenin's words is that same dignified confidence of the revolution and the Bolshevik Party in their strength and historical and moral justice. Honest and talented testimony about life can only benefit the republic and the revolution. This was unquestionable. Fear of other views, of alien views, was absent. The acceptance of art was based on the fact that any talented work is a representation of the variety and complexity of the human world, which must be taken into consideration and from which one must proceed.

At different times different approaches to problems of culture and art prevailed. Two historical events especially highlight the conditions governing the development of Soviet culture after Lenin, showing different concepts of the attitude toward the artistic intelligentsia, i.e., toward all cultural policy.

In 1925 the RKP(b) Central Committee passed the resolution "On the Party's Policy in Artistic Literature." In particular, it stipulated that the party "must speak out in favor of the free competition among different groups and trends in this area. Any other solution of this problem would be a bureaucratic pseudosolution.... The party must comprehensively eliminate efforts at home-grown and incompetent administrative interference in

literary affairs; the party must be concerned with carefully selecting the people employed in establishments which deal with the press in order to ensure a truly proper, useful and tactful guidance of our literature.

M. V. Frunze was the chairman of the Central Committee Literary Commission which drafted the resolution. In addressing its session and stipulating that he did not consider himself "particularly strong" in matters of literature, he emphasized that the "line of administrative pressure and taking literature over with a sally is wrong: this is no way to create a proletarian literature and could harm proletarian policy." He described as "politically harmful and dangerous" the view of the journal *Na Postu*, with its claim of being the sole representative of the party and the revolution in guiding literature and displaying a persecution-exposure zeal against "fellow travelers." The perspicacity of this assessment was confirmed later, after the journal's people had become members of the RAPP or the "savage guardians" of the straight and "pure" political line.

The VKP(b) Central Committee resolution "On the Journals *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*" was promulgated 21 years later, when our country was experiencing the joys of victory and the hurt of tremendous losses. A. A. Zhdanov explained the decree at a meeting of the party aktiv and writers of *Leningrad*. He described M. Zoshchenko's work and personality as "philistine and vulgar," calling him a "non-Soviet writer," "foul and obscene," "turning upside-down his base and low petty soul," an "unprincipled and unconscientious literary hooligan," and so on. It was said of Anna Akhmatova that the range of her poetry was limited "to the point of wretchedness," that her work "cannot be tolerated on the pages of our journals," and that the works of this person, someone between a "nun" and a "prostitute," could cause "nothing but harm" to our young.

An entire age separated these two speeches: nobility and modesty, objectiveness and well-wishingness in assessments and views, political and moral punctiliousness and intellectual honesty had been left behind; they had been replaced by authoritarian views and evaluations, gross interference in creative activities and rejection of basic artistic freedoms.

Along the entire line of perception of literary phenomena, this was a direct retreat from the Leninist principles of the management of culture. Unfortunately, this was not an isolated case. The sum total of such violations committed in various years cost a great deal to Soviet culture and the entire nation, affected the spiritual and moral condition of society and the human and creative destinies of many artists in our multinational country.

No references to the diktat of historical circumstances or the extreme nature of the then prevailing situation can justify the rudeness, incompetence and injustice committed toward art and culture. The former criticisms, persecutions, prohibitions and ignorant interference in

creative life have been firmly condemned by the party; their restoration is fraught with irreparable harm to the entire socialist cause. However difficult relations between government agencies and workers in culture and creative collectives may have been in the subsequent 30 years, and whatever errors, triggered by reinsurance and incompetence may have been made, the dark logic of the age of "aggravation of the class struggle" could no longer triumph. The party put an end, once and for all, to such bitter acquisitions of the post-Leninist period.

In the 1920s and 1930s, during the war and in postwar times, particularly after the 20th Party Congress, Soviet literature and art created a number of significant works of which we are justifiably proud. No hardships could prevent the shaping of the richest possible Soviet multinational culture, which was brought to life by the revolution and which preserved loyalty to its ideals despite all trials. Today our literature, graphic arts, music, motion pictures and theater have their own Soviet classics which embody the best traditions of the old culture, enriched with new discoveries in form and in dealing with the current problems of man and his destiny. The role of artistic thinking and artistic knowledge in the country's social life has been steadily growing in recent years. A new style of thinking matured within art as well. It was expected and, to the extent of the possible, was prepared by it.

However, regardless of how great the achievements of our culture had been, a feeling of dissatisfaction grew. The virus of stagnation, civic passiveness, moral lack of discrimination and placidity also affected art. Here as well, bureaucratic habits and ambitions were applied and quantity began to replace quality. The artistic level became averaged and in frequent cases the criteria of artistic value were ignored. Works of talented artists, which dealt with the crucial problems of our recent past, were frequently given no access to the viewer and reader. Nonetheless, artistic life in a period of stagnation cannot be fully characterized by a few sharp critical words equally applicable to anyone who lived and worked at that time. Always, everywhere and at all times there have been people who have worked honestly, according to their conscience, fully aware of their artistic and social responsibility. Naturally, there were also those who used their ability and talent to obtain instant benefits, titles and positions, willingly serving anyone with power. These negative aspects in the life of our society and its culture were analyzed at the 27th Party Congress and the January and July Central Committee Plenums.

Culture is one of the most sensitive and emotional aspects of social life: increased impressionability and responsiveness and a sharpened moral feeling "function" the faster and more powerfully the longer are vital changes awaited and the more energetically and decisively they express existing national interests.

Thanks to the intellectual initiative of the party, as embodied in its post-April documents, an incomparable increase in our knowledge and intensified understanding

of reality took place; a revolutionary renovation of social awareness began. The party's new ideas inspired the life of society, earmarked more clearly the path and the target of the trends and greatly dispersed apathy and indifference, restoring the value of Lenin's theoretical legacy and the practical experience of the country under his guidance, the moral foundations of socialism and its basic democratic principles.

It is not astounding that in journalism, literature, motion pictures and theater, restructuring was immediately supported. Such support is clearly different from previous "supports" with its enthusiasm, inner conviction, constructive approach, sincerity and quality of thought. The extent of belief in the historical need for restructuring is pleasantly high. Dogmatic aspirations and ambitions and antidemocratic ideas, habits and methods are being convincingly criticized.

In short, prerequisites have been created for the restoration of a rich ideological life and for fruitful ideological exchanges on all levels of society and culture. The circulation of ideas based on the principle "from the top down" has been enriched with the movement of ideas and views "from down upwards." The publication of citizens' letters to the party's Central Committee and to the editors of journals and newspapers, which have substantially increased and changed qualitatively, confirms a real burst of "spiritual activeness" and a mass excited interest in the socioeconomic and historical problems of our days. Such activeness is largely related to the fact that the entire area of culture has become more active and influential, from the press, literature and television to youth artistic amateur activities. Art has an "amazingly powerful echo," consistent with the age.

Delegates to the 27th Party Congress said that the party and the people do not need any "parade description," "petty digging into private lives," "adaptation to circumstances and narrow-mindedness." Society can entirely do without any hasty art forgeries, which try to avoid knowledge of real events or understand them, seeking, above all, to please. Lowered artistic and social responsibility, which reacts to current trends, in violation of the truth, which has "always been the essence of true art," is today unacceptable. Unfortunately, the ability promptly to "respond" was frequently considered in the past as a particularly vivid manifestation of "party-mindedness," as "serving the party and the people." Meanwhile artists who put higher than anything else loyalty to reality and its true needs, and who preserved their principle-mindedness and firmness of conviction and true party-mindedness and national feelings were by no means always honored. Sooner or later, time puts everything and everyone in its place but the artist does not always live to see this act of justice. Socialist society must learn how to value and respect its artists who have the courage to tell the truth. This is one of the guarantees for the healthy, rich and civilized development of society. At the same time, we must be

aware of the corrupting influence of time-serving and ideological and moral elasticity which allows a person to succeed whatever political twists may be practiced. Otherwise the spiritual and moral atmosphere in art and culture will remain "polluted."

"Whenever the social need to interpret our time, particularly a crucial one, arises, it always brings forth people to whom this becomes an inner necessity. This is the nature of our time today." This statement included in the political report to the 27th Congress indicates a reliance on the type of leaders in the fields of art and culture to whom participation in restructuring and the renovation of social life will truly matter and so will the need of the mind, the heart and the talent, and the act of personal choice and agreement "to assume the burden of the time," and to share that of historical responsibility.

Once again the party tells the creative intelligentsia: "Come to us!" For it is by working together in a new style, under the new circumstances, on the basis of reciprocal trust, honesty and a new and firm agreement that we shall tell one another the truth, rejecting bureaucratic administrations and instructions, subservience and falsehood and jointly defining the ways and means of further building a socialist culture, which is the spiritual wealth of the country and the people.

We know that guiding the development of culture is a difficult occupation which not everybody can do unless, naturally, this guidance is conceived simplistically. The most popular means of simplification, tested in practice by many zealous administrators, is to reduce the existing and already curtailed variety by one's predecessors to the maximally attainable monotony which makes matters easier, more peaceful and safer. The fact that as a result of this the Soviet people began to feel a certain mistrust in what was presented to them as spiritual food was immaterial. Equally immaterial was the fact that audiences did not go to the theater or to see movies or art exhibits. There was tranquillity and there was no reason to fear that the viewer would understand something not the way he was supposed to. Such administrators insultingly underestimated and belittled the idea-mindedness, consciousness, culture, and political and legal education of the Soviet people, who were entirely capable of determining by themselves what it is they liked in such spiritual food and what they did not.

It was insufficiently realized that the spiritual culture of socialism and that socialism as a whole can develop normally and fruitfully only on the basis of variety and multiplicity of ideas, for otherwise there would be monotony, mediocrity and boredom. It was poorly, inconsistently and narrowly realized that "literary affairs are the least suited to mechanical equalization and leveling and to the domination of the minority by the majority," and that "in this matter it is unquestionably necessary to ensure greater scope for individual initiative, individual inclinations, scope of thoughts and fantasies, and forms and content" (V. I. Lenin, *op cit.*, vol

12, p 101). Lenin's warning against identifying the "literary part of the party cause of the proletariat" with "other parts of the party cause of the proletariat," although taken into consideration, was remembered only sporadically and formally, in statements, or else was totally ignored. A paradoxical "law" developed: the more powerful the Soviet state became, the more fearful, mistrustful and, occasionally, even suspicious became its departments and authorities managing culture, the artistic intelligentsia and its work. The young Soviet republic was inordinately bold: it proceeded from the understanding that art is by nature competitive and varied and unpredictable, following the truth of life and man, and that the truth of life, unquestionably, was on the side of the revolution and socialism, "for life is for us," as Lenin wrote (*op cit.*, vol 34, p 136).

During that distant year of 1921, the most vital among the most important tasks of the party was the elimination of illiteracy. However, even then Lenin explained that "we will not go far with literacy alone," and that "we need a tremendous enhancement of culture" (*op cit.*, vol 44, p 170). In Lenin's view the ability to read and write should, in the final account, lead to "improving the entire economy and state" (*Ibid.*, p 171). This would have meant a real and tremendous enhancement of culture, the "advancement" of the state.

The task seems clear but it took decades to implement it, and even today we cannot say that it has been achieved once and for all. This justifies Lenin's words to the effect that the cultural revolution requires an entire historical age and that the tremendous enhancement of culture is a lengthy and difficult process not simply of increased "literacy" or "education," but mandatorily a human, an individual self-awareness, creative initiative-minded energy, spiritual interests and conscious and active participation in "improving the state" and renovating society.

Inevitably, times of revolutionary change bring to light the real condition of society, the degree to which it is ready for change and the level of its social and historical views of itself. In such cases total like-mindedness seems extremely artificial. At the same time, the developing multiplicity of evaluations and opinions reflects, as in a mirror, not only our successes in education, culture and Marxist conceptual training but also a variety of blunders, omissions and even errors committed in the building of culture, and learning lessons from our historical past.

Subsequent to the April Plenum, the party's cultural policy has been built on democracy and glasnost, i.e., on the open discussion of all aspects, past and present, of our common life. For the first time the Soviet person has been granted, among others, access to many works of literature and art which had not reached him for a variety of reasons. Their extensive discussion in the mass press, which includes readers and audiences, indicated

that concealing talented and ideologically and historically important works only worsened historical ignorance which was increasing in society, particularly among young people, social passiveness and social infantilism. The moral harm caused to society and culture proved to be even greater: concealment favored precisely the social forces which had led the country to a pre-crisis situation in the economy and to many manifestations of spiritual stagnation.

The renovation of Soviet culture, however, cannot be reduced merely to making forced "reservations" and "hidden areas" accessible to it. It is a question of developing the type of moral and psychological atmosphere and conditions for the daily work of creative associations and organizations in which any work of talent, which brings the truth about life and the activities of the people and the truth of socialist and universal ideals, is given access to the reader, viewer and listener, so that the contribution of the creative intelligentsia to improving the socialist state, renovating socialism and creating the most developed and the richest culture in the world become truly free and powerful, reflecting the talent and socialist emancipation of the peoples of our country.

Culture is being renovated under our very eyes: all varieties of journalism have become noticeably enhanced; the motion pictures and the theater have been reorganized on the initiative of the creative associations; artists in a variety of creative areas have the opportunity to display their canvases to audiences and musical life is becoming richer and filled with more individuality. It is as though culture and art are being restored in their truly complex structure and variety, seeking new organizational forms and making use of the best experience of the 1920s-1930s and the 1960s. Unquestionably, this is a gratifying fact of our present social situation, which has drawn extensive attention. The debates which arise around this fact are natural and useful. It is that same "variety of opinions" which enables society to learn more about itself, to look itself in the face. Lack of habit in conducting discussions and of reciprocal tolerance is still noticeable; standards of debates are low. However, concerned with observing the rules of debate should not eliminate the essence of differences which have become apparent and their sociohistorical, moral and aesthetic significance and reasons. In terms of the present and the future of our country and the destiny of the people, a great deal depends on the type of ideas and views which will gain the upper hand in the course of such arguments.

V. I. Lenin believed that "...once a member of the party has reached the conviction of the strict erroneousness and harmfulness of a certain sermon, he must oppose it" (op cit., vol 47, p 151). Are there considerations which could deny the accuracy of this Leninist statement? Do such tactical considerations mean that the question of why engage in polemics, and what socially significant ideas and principles have clashed with each other cannot be avoided by any person whose convictions are serious?

All various forces of "obstruction," be they experienced supporters of scholasticism and dogmatism or the revived followers of nationalism and chauvinism, will willingly hide behind words about "discussion standards" and democracy, for the sake of avoiding the blunt and open social characterization of their positions on the part of their ideological opponents. Discussions are necessary and we must learn tolerance. However, anything that is alien to the spirit of revolutionary restructuring and the basic interests of the Soviet people must be called by its right name. Principles remain principles and must not be violated, whatever seemingly pretexts may be cited.

The lack of moral and social discrimination and the unprecedented "flexibility," which had become popular during the period of stagnation, were largely related to the fact that the criteria of art and socialist idea-mindedness were applied inconsistently. This was done for the sake of a seeming well-being and fictitious unity which, for a long time, was presented as an accomplishment. Lenin, however, taught us otherwise: "The first obligation of those who wish to seek the 'ways to human happiness' is not to fool themselves but to have the courage to admit frankly what is" (op cit., vol 1, p 407). This is the case everywhere, in debates, in assessing artistic phenomena and in any determination of the truth: we must proceed from what is; we must accurately assess political and moral events, without delusions, without avoiding facts, meanwhile nurturing talent and respecting its searches and accomplishments.

It frequently happens, in discussing problems of culture and cultural legacy, that national community is pitted against the community of the Soviet people and nationality against class. In some cases "spirituality" is pitted against idea- and party-mindedness. Historical and sociopolitical specifics and the actual dialectical complexity and the interconnection of phenomena and qualities defined by such concepts are ignored, thereby simplifying and even distorting the history of culture and its experience.

We have in front of us the great examples of M. Sholokhov and A. Tvardovskiy, the outstanding artists of the Soviet age. They provided an artistic solution to the gravest and most painful problems of human life and contradictions of reality, finding the limits of all shades and boundaries of the truth and combining them with the truth of the historically developing socialist ideal, combining class with universality, societal with national features, and international with patriotic feelings, bringing social justice and freedom to every working person.

A return to the Leninist principles of cultural policy means an equal acknowledgment of culture as the most important and not an auxiliary part of life and an indicator of its spiritual condition of development and level of humanity. We see once again that society values and recognizes all artists and even more so those who follow the course of artistic and historical truth rather

than who flatter and adapt themselves. The party and the government have taken into consideration the lessons of the past: it is senseless to block the way of a talented work of art which clashes with the prevailing mood. Sooner or later, such a work becomes part of national culture. A true work of art is as much a real fact of life as any other, and must be taken into consideration. To pretend that it does not exist is self-deluding. The careful attitude toward the artistic, as toward any honestly working person, must be a standard of our social life.

"Throughout my life I struggled for a cautious attitude toward man," M. Gorkiy wrote, "and it seems to me that this struggle must be increased in our time and under our circumstances.... Are we cautious enough in our attitude toward...people; are we able to value adequately their work, and capabilities, and are we not too severe in judging their errors and omissions? I am forced to raise such questions not for reasons of sentimental humanism but the awareness of the need to conserve the energy of man, the creator of new life, and the man who helps him in this 'the greatest project of the century,' in the words of Romain Rolland (1929).

In those long-gone times Gorkiy separated workers in culture as being "assistants," "fellow travelers" from the "creators of new life," the conscious proletariat. Today our "creator of new life" is the person who consciously, applying to the fullest extent his capabilities, knowledge and professional skills is building a society in which there will be "more socialism and more democracy," and, therefore, more culture. As to the status of the artist in society, today, in the period of restructuring and acceleration, the significance of artistic contribution to the country's life has increased and the initiated process of renovation of socialism and its reconstruction cannot be conceived without the active participation of the arts.

In our days the state culture authorities and the party's ideological services must seek new, more flexible and effective forms of open and reciprocally trusting cooperation with the creative associations and collectives. Administrative pressure and arbitrariness must be abandoned. We need studies and competence. The new forms of organization of artistic life need support and understanding. Unprincipled "clickishness," based on petty and selfish interests, can be properly countered by associations, studios and societies based on common aesthetic and conceptual principles. The more varied artistic life becomes the more natural will its development take place. What is promising and viable will continue to grow whereas what is artificial, tendentious and superficial will wither away. Under these circumstances, the role of artistic criticism legitimately increases. There must be no "untouchables" in art, for this is a manifestation of the "hierarchical disease." The free and convincing discussion of any work, without insinuations, must become a self-evident, a natural phenomenon rather than an exception. The critics, professing the principles of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics, must play a leading role in this process of the restoration of normal

artistic life to its fullest extent. As was pointed out at the 27th Congress, "It is time for the critics to reject placidity and respect for rank, which corrode healthy morality, and remember that critique is a matter of public importance and not an area of servicing authors' pride and ambitions."

The critics are also very important in explaining the phenomena of "mass art," particularly its musical varieties. Here as well, however, prohibitions and indignations are bad and worthless assistants. Art can be contrasted against "mass culture" above all in terms of quality, variety, popularity of the works themselves and their appeal to young people.

The faster bureaucratic inertia disappears in the creative associations and their machinery and the more there is reliance on voluntary principle and less ostentatious and nonmandatory measures, the more noticeable will be the main feature in their activities: problems of creativity. The union of cinematographers and that of theater workers had outstripped their colleagues in restructuring in their efforts to create the most favorable conditions for a new upsurge in Soviet cinema and theater.

It is only the healthy, competitive and creative atmosphere, in which the tone is set by real ideological and high artistic criteria, and the self-exigency and civic responsibility of the artist that will restore the real prestige of state prizes and make nominations and discussions of works democratic, freeing them from any kind of "secret diplomacy."

A great deal in the new upsurge of Soviet culture depends on the party committees and republics, oblasts and rayons. The vitally necessary "decentralization" of culture is possible only with a concerned attitude for local cultural forces, and their reinforcement, strengthening and support. It is time to reject the idea that high culture is the privilege of the capital. The more professionally strong, talented journalistic, writing and theater collectives, publishing and regional study centers, associations of painters, musical ensembles, choirs and orchestras are established in the country, the more will the spiritual culture of the people grow and the richer will become their daily life. Increased attention should be paid to amateur artistic performances.

One must learn how to accept phenomena in literature and the arts within the context of the restructuring and find within them emotional and spiritual support. Naturally, this does not exclude a critical attitude or any convincing and well-wishing polemics. We must recall and well-understand that V. I. Lenin and his fellow workers knew and loved literature and art, considering them not a leisure time ornament but a manifestation of the profound feelings and thoughts of the people, i.e., of their own as well. Lack of familiarity of this aspect of life means a poor awareness and understanding of all life.

Restructuring implies an urgently necessary growth of the intelligence of party cadres and their inner culture, education and tactfulness in working with the intelligentsia.

The conditions of restructuring in the country favor the further development of all areas of culture and the arts but, at the same time, formulate strict requirements. The most important of them are artistic discoveries and truth. This truth, M. S. Gorbachev said at the 27th Congress, lies "in the accomplishments of the people and the contradictions in the development of society, the heroism and daily working days, victories and failures, i.e., in life itself in its entire variety, drama and greatness."

There can be no literature or art without truth. There can be no justice and civic-mindedness, glasnost, democracy and true morality without truth. Truth is one and indivisible. There is no "big" and "small" truth. There is big and small lie when one semi-truth replaces another. There can never be too much truth, although at times there has been too little.

Our literature and art bear in their best works the truth of the revolution, the truth of socialism, in which the truth develops the best civic qualities in people, the ability to create according to its laws, to work and live honestly, and to help the people become better aware of history, the world and the times. What could be more worthy and humanistic than this lofty calling!

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#### At the CPSU Central Committee

18020003b Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 87 (signed to press 5 Oct 87) pp 15-24

[Text] CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Urgent Measures to Accelerate the Solution of the Food Problem in Accordance with the Stipulations of the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum."

The resolution notes that the work on applying the new economic management mechanism and intensive technologies, conducted in accordance with the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress and the May 1982 and April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenums, is having a positive influence by increasing the interest of labor collectives in end results and is contributing to improving returns on investments. Over the past year gross agricultural output has shown a 5 percent increase, which is consistent with the growth rate stipulated for this 5-year period. The number of losing kolkhozes and sovkhoses has been reduced, farm profitability has increased and in recent years costs per unit of output have declined.

Nonetheless, as was noted at the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the great opportunities which exist for rapidly increasing food supplies are by no means being utilized fully. The growth rates of gross agricultural output in Tajikistan and Armenia and in Novgorod, Chelyabinsk and Amur Oblasts are below the sectorial average by a factor of 2-3. Stagnation phenomena in Uzbek agrarian economy have not been eliminated.

A considerable lag behind the stipulations of the Food Program has developed in many oblasts in the Russian Federation and the Ukraine in grain production; in the Moldavian SSR for oleaginous crops, and in the Kazakh and Lithuanian SSRs for meat.

Major shortcomings in the social development of the countryside are having an adverse effect on the solution of food problems. Although capital investments in this area have been increased by a factor of 1.4 over the past 4 years, housing per rural resident has remained significantly lower than in the cities. Amenities, the development of medical and cultural services and road paving have seriously fallen behind.

Factors which hinder the development of the economic activeness and independence of labor collectives and hold back the population's initiative continue to operate. Economic tools for regulating the production process are being used insufficiently; standardized planning methods are being mastered sluggishly and contractual relations are not being properly developed. In frequent cases markup on purchase prices of commodities sold by underprofitable and losing kolkhozes and sovkhoses are used essentially to meet payrolls. Bureaucratic administration and rigid control over farm, enterprise and organization activities have still not been eliminated. Both union and local planning and economic authorities underestimate the importance of accelerating the development of the processing base in solving the food problem.

The CPSU Central Committee has made it incumbent upon the central committees of communist parties and the councils of ministers of union republics, the party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, the councils of ministers of autonomous republics, the executive committees of soviets of people's deputies, and the trade union, Komsomol and other social organizations to formulate and implement, in accordance with the stipulations of the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, urgent steps which would ensure substantial further improvement in food supplies in each rayon, city, oblast, kray and autonomous and union republic.

It has been suggested to them comprehensively to expand and intensify processes of democratization, to promote the initiative of labor collectives in the agroindustrial complex, enterprises and organizations of other ministries and departments, the rural population and all citizens, and to enhance their interest in increasing food

resources. Guided by Lenin's ideas on cooperations, it is necessary more daringly to apply the new ways and means of economic management and, to this effect, firmly to eliminate all obstacles and restrictions which restrain the growth of agricultural commodities output in kolkhozes, sovkhozes, auxiliary farms of industrial enterprises and the private sector. They must firmly support and disseminate the practical experience of the party organizations which, under the new economic management conditions, have been able within a short period of time to ensure a significant increase in the production of agricultural commodities, fulfill the plans for their delivery to centralized funds and to make substantial improvements in local supplies. At the same time, they must firmly block dependency, the aspiration of some managers to work at half strength and to compensate at the expense of the state food shortages caused by faults in their own work.

It was deemed necessary drastically to upgrade improve returns on investments in reclamation and thus to achieve substantial food increases within a short time. The USSR Gosagroprom, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and the councils of ministers of union republics must bring the necessary order in this important matter. They must end inefficient investments and the available funds may be used to meet the priority needs of kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the interest of increasing output and strengthening their economy.

The CPSU Central Committee considers as the most important, the pivotal task of our party policy, that of achieving within the shortest possible time a significant increase in the growth rates of food supplies as a result of the comprehensive utilization of all sources of food increases. In this case we must proceed from the fact that the accelerated development of public production in the agrarian sector of the economy is a firm foundation for solving the food problem in the country and a proper base which will enable us to make the fullest possible use of the possibilities of auxiliary farms of enterprises and citizens and other sources of additional food supplies.

In order to increase the influence of economic management methods on the growth rates of agricultural output and to motivate labor collectives to make use of their production potential most efficiently, the CPSU Central Committee has mandated to the USSR Gosagroprom, and the ministries and departments within the agroindustrial complex to convert in 1988-1989 to full cost accounting and self-financing all subordinate kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other enterprises and organizations.

The planning and financial authorities of agroindustrial committees and associations have been instructed to determine the type of methods for controlling economic relations within the agroindustrial complex which would ensure expanded reproduction in farms, enterprises and organizations using essentially with their own funds. They have been asked to pay particular attention to

setting the type of purchase prices which would ensure the recovery of socially necessary outlays and would stimulate quality improvements, higher labor productivity and lower production costs. Further efforts must be made in perfecting planning, financing, labor organization and wages and democratization of management.

It was deemed necessary for the conversion to the new economic management conditions in each enterprise and organization to be undertaken immediately, in accordance with the real situation and the requirements of cost accounting. Expenditures must be made strictly consistent with revenues and deadlines for the repayment of loans. An end must be put to the consumerist approach of using loans to meet payroll needs, not backed by actual output. It was suggested to formulate within a period of 3 months a program for improving the financial status of kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other enterprises and associations within the agroindustrial complex.

The CPSU Central Committee has made it incumbent upon party committees and soviet and economic authorities to complete by 1988 the conversion of all production subdivisions to contracting labor organization methods. They must take maximally into consideration the entire variety of conditions in selecting contracting ways and means. They must firmly eliminate formalism, inertia and stereotype in this important project. They must comprehensively support production collectives which sign long-term leases (10-15 years) for means of production and behave as the real owners of the land.

The attention of party, soviet and economic managers has been drawn to existing cases of wrong and prejudiced attitude toward family and individual contracting and the underestimating of their great potential. They have been instructed to take efficient steps to ensure the extensive use of such organizational methods. It was suggested that wages paid to all participants in the production process, including managers and specialists, be directly related to the gross income and the use of other forms of production incentives. The share of payment in kind to agricultural workers must be increased and its amount must be strictly related to end results.

The CPSU Central Committee considers that the full mastery of cost accounting and of contracting forms of labor organization, combined with crop growing and animal husbandry intensification and with the processing industry and thus achieving substantial improvements in food supplies to the population, is the most important criterion in assessing the condition of restructuring in the agroindustrial complex.

The resolution notes the need for further extensive use of the possibilities of industrial, construction, transportation and other urban enterprises in eliminating the lag in the economic and social development of the countryside. Urban enterprises and organizations are called upon



actively to participate in strengthening the material and technical base of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, particularly in remote areas, and the construction in the villages of homes, schools, preschool and medical institutions, cultural and consumer projects, roads, engineering facilities, and the urbanization of rural settlements. Such work must be carried out on a contractual basis with the forces and funds of enterprises and the farms themselves.

The CPSU Central Committee has made it incumbent upon party, soviet and economic authorities, both central and local, to concentrate their efforts on the fastest possible solution of problems of national importance, such as the accelerated development of the processing industry, and its technical retooling, and achieving the most essential and real increase in the amount of high-quality food products by intensifying the processing and improving the storing of agricultural commodities. In the course of their practical activities the planning, financial, agroindustrial and other economic authorities must be firmly guided by the fact that today and in the immediate future the development of processing is the most economical and faster way of obtaining additional food supplies and thus increasing the country's national income.

Taking into consideration the importance of hastening the solution of this problem, the CPSU Central Committee has instructed the USSR Council of Ministers to draft within a 2-month period and to submit to the CPSU Central Committee a proposal on the additional production of equipment for the period between 1988 and 1995 for enterprises engaged in processing and storing of agricultural commodities. It has deemed necessary to involve enterprises of all economic sectors in the implementation of this task.

The resolution calls for radical improvements in the work of Tsentrosoyuz and its local agencies in procuring from the population and kolkhozes and sovkhozes agricultural surpluses and their processing at its own enterprises and on a commission basis, and in its procurement and marketing activities. Local suggestions on the establishment of a widespread network of trade-procurement and processing enterprises, operating on a cooperative basis, must be supported in order to improve the organization of procurements, processing and marketing of cattle, milk, fruits, vegetables and wild berries and mushrooms and expanding services provided to the rural population and worker settlements.

In order to develop economic initiative and increase glasnost in management and to eliminate bureaucratic administration in the management of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and in processing, construction and other subdivisions, it was deemed expedient to make further improvements in the activities of agroindustrial authorities, on the rayon level above all. Extensive use must be made of the experience of any rayon agroindustrial association governed by a council elected at a meeting (conference) of representatives of kolkhozes, sovkhozes

and other enterprises, headed by one of the most authoritative farm managers. The operational machinery of such an association must be accountable to the council.

It is recommended to party committees and soviet and economic authorities comprehensively to support and disseminate new promising formations within the agroindustrial complex, such as agroindustrial combines and associations, agricultural firms, and production (scientific-production) systems which enable us to accelerate the practical application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and achieve a closer integration among the production, processing, storing and marketing of commodities, reducing losses and ensuring the speediest possible delivery of goods to the consumers.

The central committees of communist parties of union republics and the party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms have been instructed, guided by the resolutions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, firmly to improve their work in cadre selection, placement and training and strengthening kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other enterprises in the agroindustrial complex with ideologically mature and competent managers and specialists. Constant concern must be shown for upgrading the authority of kolkhoz chairmen and enterprise directors and for developing a stable corps of farm and enterprise managers, protected from interference in matters within their competence and from imposing upon them unjustified fines or other penalties. The training of cadres on all levels must be ascribed prime significance. Such training must be continuous and lead to a profound mastery of contemporary economic management methods.

Attention has been drawn to the need to strengthen the moral incentive of the personnel within the agroindustrial complex for the successful solution of problems related to ensuring the country's food supply. It was deemed expedient for the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to consider the conditions and procedure for nominating for state awards personnel in agriculture and related sectors for reaching the levels set for agroindustrial output by each zone and for making specific contributions to the development of the social area.

The CPSU Central Committee has made it incumbent upon the USSR Gosagroprom and the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education to ensure qualitative improvements in the training of specialists at higher and secondary specialized agricultural schools and closely to relate the training and education process to contemporary production management methods and ensure that university and secondary school students profoundly master the economic management mechanism, intensive technologies, the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress and management skills under the conditions of the expanded rights and autonomy of farms and enterprises and their conversion to full cost accounting and self-financing.



The resolution suggests to the Komsomol Central Committee and the USSR Gosagroprom, together with the party, soviet and economic authorities, to ensure the extensive involvement of young people in basic sectors of the agroindustrial complex and to show proper concern for providing the young with all necessary production, housing, cultural and living conditions. Particular attention must be paid to the creation of stable labor collectives in economically weak kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the Nonchernozem Zone in the RSFSR, Siberia and the Far East. Groups of young people made up of specialists in agriculture, education, culture, medical, trade and consumer services and cadres with mass skills must be assigned to such farms.

The Komsomol Central Committee, USSR Gosagroprom and Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy have been instructed to conduct the necessary explanatory work among the troops going into the reserves. Those who have expressed the wish to work in agriculture must be assigned to kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other enterprises.

**CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers Decrees "On Additional Measures for the Development of Private Auxiliary Farms by Citizens, Horticulture and Truck Gardening" and "On the Further Development of Auxiliary Rural Farms of Enterprises, Organizations and Establishments."**

With a view to providing better conditions for the development of private auxiliary farms by citizens and collective horticulture and truck gardening and eliminating the major shortcomings in this matter, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers have made it incumbent upon the central committees of communist parties and council of ministers of union republics, the USSR Gosagroprom, the party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, the councils of ministers of autonomous republics, and kray, oblast, city and rayon executive committees to take efficient steps to stimulate the production of meat, milk, potatoes, vegetables, fruits, berries and other farm products in the private auxiliary farms of citizens and collective horticulture and truck gardening. Particular emphasis is put on the development of cooperatives of private auxiliary farms of the population engaged in public production on a contractual basis and to the principles of collective and family contracting.

It has been stipulated that the sizes of garden plots and standards on raising cattle and poultry in private auxiliary farms of citizens will be determined by the rural and settlement soviets of people's deputies, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, with the participation of kolkhoz members, sovkhoz workers and employees and other rural residents engaged in public production.

It has been recommended to kolkhozes and allowed to sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises to expand the use of leasing contracts, including granting on a

long-term basis additional land to kolkhoz members, sovkhoz workers and other citizens living in rural areas, who have expressed the desire to raise cattle and poultry and to grow potatoes, vegetables, berries, greens, fodder and other crops which they will market on the basis of contracts with farms and with the organizations of the consumer cooperative.

The USSR Gosagroprom and the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies have been tasked with drafting and implementing specific measures aimed at substantially increasing the sale of young cattle and poultry to private auxiliary farms.

Sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises have been allowed and it has been recommended to kolkhozes to sell to the citizens horses and other work animals which they can raise and use for work in their private auxiliary farms and in doing work based on contracts with the farms.

It has been deemed expedient to organize in the rural rayons societies of bee growers, to supply them with the necessary inventory and mobile platforms, and to improve the work of bee nurseries in order to meet in full the needs of citizens for bee families.

Party committees and soviet and economic authorities have been asked to show greater concern for providing housing to kolkhoz members and workers and employees in sovkhozes and other enterprises within the agroindustrial complex.

Sovkhozes, other enterprises and organizations within the agroindustrial complex located in rural areas have been allowed, and it has been recommended to kolkhozes and consumer cooperative organizations to sell to their personnel garden-type housing with outbuildings, financed out of state capital investments or the funds of farms, enterprises and organizations, 40 percent of the cost of which will be repaid by the working people, in equal monthly installments over a 50-year period from the day of the closing of the sale.

In order to increase interest in the development of individual housing construction in the villages and in developing private auxiliary farms, loans will be granted to citizens living in rural areas, as follows:

No more than 20,000 rubles for building individual housing with outbuildings, repayable over a period of 50 years, starting with the third year after receiving the loan;

No more than 4,000 rubles for constructing outbuildings for raising cattle and poultry, repayable over a 10-year period, as of the third year after receiving the loan;

No more than 1,000 rubles, repayable within 3 years, for purchasing minor mechanization facilities for work in private auxiliary farms.

The amount of loans to citizens has been raised to 1,000 rubles for the purchasing of cows and 500 rubles of calves, repayable in accordance with existing legislation.

It has been deemed expedient to include as part of the overall labor seniority of women with minor children and, therefore, not employed in public production, the time spent by them in raising cattle and poultry and growing potatoes, vegetables and green and other crops in private auxiliary farms, based on contracts with kolkhozes, sovkhoses and consumer cooperative organizations.

It has been resolved to accelerate the completion in each oblast, kray and autonomous and union republics with no oblast administrative divisions the formulation of plans for the location of collective horticultural and truck gardens and to plan for their equipment, power and water supplies and telephone communications by rayon. Land from the state land fund will be allocated for collective horticultural and truck gardens including, if necessary, land from kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other agricultural enterprises. The possibility must be considered of organizing horticultural associations for kolkhoz members, sovkhos workers and personnel of other agricultural enterprises living in multiple-story dwellings.

The allocation of land for collective horticultural and truck gardens, consistent with approved locations, will be based on decisions of executive committees of rayon (city) soviets of people's deputies within a period of 1 month from the day a request has been filed.

The enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification and other ministries and departments of the USSR and union republics have been asked to speed up work to provide water and electricity and other amenities to collective horticultural and truck gardens, bearing in mind their essential completion this 5-year period. It is recommended that such work be based on direct contracts with horticultural associations and to include in their plans related contractual works and volumes of services.

Members of horticultural associations have been granted the right to build on the land plots assigned to them heated garden huts not to exceed 50 square meters, not counting terraces (verandas) and attics, and outbuildings (individual or joint) for raising poultry and rabbits, storing agricultural implements and others. Greenhouses and other heated ground installations may be built on such plots for growing farm crops. Cellars may be dug under the huts or outbuildings. All previous restrictions on the equipment of horticultural plots are hereby lifted.

The decree permits making loans to members of horticultural associations for building garden huts and improvements in garden plots not to exceed 5,000 rubles, repayable over a 10-year period, starting with the third year after obtaining the loan.

It is suggested to the councils of ministers of union republics, the USSR Ministry of Trade, USSR Ministry of Health, Tsentsosyuz, and soviet and economic authorities to improve trade and medical services to horticulturalists and truck gardeners, to ensure the full satisfaction of their demand for gardening tools and other items, and to develop a network of surplus farm produce purchasing centers. Particular attention has been paid to meeting the needs of the population for garden sheds and construction materials and for making transportation, construction-repair and other services available.

It is recommended to the councils of ministers of union republics, the USSR Gosagroprom, Tsentsosyuz and USSR ministries and departments significantly to increase the amount and variety of paid services to citizens running private auxiliary farms, horticulturalists and truck gardeners and to promote cooperative and individual activity in this area. Particular attention is paid to providing services, such as cultivation of land plots, sale and spreading of fertilizers, use of plant protection chemicals, building and repair of housing and outbuildings, marketing minor mechanization and gardening tools, processing of hides of livestock and rabbits, processing of goods on a commission basis, and providing veterinarian and agronomy services.

Based on acquired experience, it is recommended that each kolkhoz, sovkhos agricultural enterprise to set up teams for providing services to the population in managing their private auxiliary farms and engaging in collective horticulture and truck gardening.

The USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production and USSR Ministry of Chemical Industry have been instructed to take additional steps to increase the production of prepackaged chemical fertilizers and pesticides in quantities and varieties which would fully satisfy population demand.

The decree suggests to the councils of ministers of autonomous republics and executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies, together with trade union authorities and agroindustrial committees and associations to promote more extensively reviews and competitions for the best private auxiliary farm or horticultural and truck gardening plot, and to organize corresponding fairs and exhibits for the popularization of progressive experience. It is deemed expedient to hold all-union reviews of the work of private auxiliary farms of citizens, horticulturalists and truck gardeners, the results of which will be announced at the USSR VDNKh and at republic, kray and oblast exhibits, with awards to be presented to the winners.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, who ascribe great importance to the further development of the auxiliary plots of enterprises, organizations and establishments in improving food supplies to labor collectives, have made it incumbent upon USSR ministries and departments, central committees of communist parties and councils of ministers of union republics, party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, councils of ministers of autonomous republics, and executive committees of kray, oblast, city and rayon soviets of people's deputies to take specific practical steps to increase food production by auxiliary rural farms of enterprises, organizations and establishments, based on the stipulations of the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. They have been instructed to analyze the production and economic activities of each such farm and to take thorough measures to ensure the fullest possible utilization of possibilities of increasing the production of meat-dairy and other commodities in order to improve supplies to labor collectives, establish proper order in the utilization of material-technical and financial resources, master cost accounting within a short time and make auxiliary farms of enterprises, organizations and establishments throughout the country profitable.

It has been suggested to the councils of ministers of union republics (with no oblast subdivisions), to the councils of ministers of autonomous republics and to kray and oblast executive committees to find plots for organizing auxiliary farms of enterprises and organizations. If necessary, they are allowed to transfer to enterprises and organizations, for purposes of creating auxiliary farms, the land of losing or underprofitable sovkhozes or their internal subdivisions, or to assign to them economically weak kolkhozes.

With a view to increasing fish production, it is recommended to make fuller use of the possibilities of internal water reservoirs and to assign them on a long-term basis to enterprises, organizations and establishments. To this effect, available ponds, lakes and water reservoirs will be inventoried before the end of this year and problems of organizing auxiliary farms on their basis will be solved.

In the organization of auxiliary farms more extensive use must be made of the principles of organizing cooperatives. Joint livestock feeding farms and greenhouse combines must be set up by merging the facilities of enterprises from different sectors, making maximal use of other organizational forms and developing more extensively on a contractual basis production relations with kolkhozes, sovkhozes and interfarm enterprises.

The central committees of communist parties of union republics, party kraykoms and obkoms, councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics, kray and oblast executive committees and heads of ministries and departments have been instructed to formulate and

approve in 1987 plans for the development of greenhouses for the production of early vegetables, so that between 0.6 and 0.8 square meters of covered ground per urban resident may be reached by 1990.

On the basis of requests submitted by enterprises, organizations and establishments running auxiliary farms, the USSR Gosagroprom and the gosagroproms of union republics and agroindustrial committees and associations have been instructed to ensure the allocation and sale to such entities tractors and agricultural machinery, chemical fertilizers and other material and technical resources (according to the USSR Gosagroprom list), based on standards set for kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the respective areas, and to organize deliveries of purebred cattle and poultry, high-quality seeds and planting materials, provide veterinary and agrochemical services and services for repairs of tractors, and agricultural and other machinery.

The USSR Gossnab and USSR Gosagroprom have been instructed to allocate, based on the requests of ministries and departments, the necessary technological equipment for building in auxiliary farms meat processing and dairy shops, canneries, refrigerators, storage areas and other industrial projects.

In designing and building new and reconstructing and expanding operating electric power plants, gas-compressor stations and other heat-generating enterprises, it has been recommended to the USSR Ministry of Gas Industry, USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, USSR Ministry of Petroleum Industry, USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production, other USSR ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics mandatorily to consider appending to them greenhouses, fish breeding and other auxiliary farms and shops. All water reservoirs of operating thermoelectric power plants must develop fish breeding by 1988-1989.

The conditions governing loans for the organization and expansion of material and technical facilities applicable to sovkhozes will be extended to auxiliary farms of enterprises, organizations and establishments.

It has been stipulated that starting with 1988 reclamation on the land of auxiliary farms will be based on the procedure and conditions stipulated for agricultural enterprises.

Managers of enterprises, organizations and establishments, in coordination with oblast and kray executive committees, councils of ministers of autonomous republics and councils of ministers of union republics without oblast subdivisions are allowed to increase, if necessary, in the newly organized auxiliary farms, for a period of 2-3 years, the salaries of managerial personnel, specialists and chief bookkeepers by one or two grades above the level of planned volumes of goods marketed in the given year.

Based on requests submitted by USSR ministries and departments, the USSR Gosagroprom must undertake the training and upgrading the skills of managers and specialists at auxiliary farms of enterprises, organizations and establishments, and pay greater attention to summing up progressive practical experience gained by such farms.

It is recommended to Gosteleradio, the editors of central and local newspapers, TASS, APN and other mass information media to cover profoundly, systematically and considerably the course of solving the food problem in the spirit of the requirements of the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, to sum up and actively to disseminate experience in the restructuring of the agroindustrial complex on a new economic and organizational basis, daringly describe the socioeconomic processes currently occurring in the countryside, to present them in a lively and inventive manner in their full dynamic and contradictory aspects. They must uncompromisingly struggle against sluggishness, routine and irresponsibility, offer thorough support to local initiative, and enhance the social prestige of those who farm thriftily and who actively participate in the restructuring of the entire socioeconomic life in the countryside.

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### **Problems of Foreign Economic Activity**

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[Article by Vladimir Mikhaylovich Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] From the very first years of the establishment of the Soviet system V. I. Lenin considered relations among countries and, above all, international economic relations, an important factor in the country's economic development. He proceeded from the fact that the economy of the land of the soviets was not isolated from the global economy, for which reason "basic economic necessity will make its own way" and "the development of proper trade relations between the Soviet Republic and the entire capitalist world will inevitably advance" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 71). In expressing the wish and willingness of the young state to develop mutually profitable forms of international cooperation, V. I. Lenin emphasized that "we firmly favor economic agreements...with all countries..." (op cit., vol 39, p 209).

As early as the 1920s the young Soviet Republic appeared on the World Market and the capitalist countries were forced to accept it as a sovereign partner in international business cooperation.

Today our country is an active participant in the international division of labor and a center of the integration process within CEMA. Trade and economic relations with capitalist and developing countries are intensifying. A search is under way for nontraditional forms of cooperation. According to 1986 data, the Soviet Union is trading with 145 countries throughout the world. The depth and accuracy of Lenin's thought of the objective nature of development of international economic relations, independent of the will and wish of individual governments or classes, are practically confirmed one more time.

Nonetheless problems, the solution of which is impossible with the old methods, remain in foreign economic activities.

Let us note above all that the existing scale, structure and forms of our trade-economic and scientific and technical connections are inconsistent with the important tasks of accelerating economic and social development, as formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress and considered in detail at the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

As we know, the share of processing industry output has been a stable trend and accounts today for about 70 percent of world trade. Machine building output accounts for about 30 percent and, according to estimates, by the year 2000, will exceed 35 percent. "Non-material" commodities—patents, licenses, know-how, and engineering-type services—are assuming an increasing role. The structure of Soviet exports is not only inconsistent with the overall laws governing the development of demand on world markets but also with the structure of material production in our own country. In recent years machines and equipment have accounted for no more than 15 percent of Soviet exports, as compared to more than 60 percent of raw materials, almost 50 percent of which energy products. The opposite prevails in domestic production: the machine building sectors account for 28 percent, while fuel and energy for 11 percent of output.

The raw-material trend in exports creates problems for the country's economy. In particular it makes it dependent on price fluctuations on the world market and lowers possibilities of accelerated development of foreign trade as a whole. Therefore, the fast growth and stable increase in the share of output of processing sectors, machine building in particular, must become the general trend in long-term improvements in the export structure.

The 27th CPSU Congress indicated the need to develop a broad approach to mutually profitable long-term economic relations. It was emphasized that "in formulating the task of making active use of foreign economic

activities in the acceleration of our development, we have in mind the step-by-step restructuring of foreign trade and improving the efficiency of exports and imports."

In implementing the resolutions of the congress, on 19 August 1986 the party's Central Committee and the Soviet government passed the decrees "On Measures to Improve the Management of Foreign Economic Relations" and "On Measures to Improve the Management of Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation with the Socialist Countries."

The essence of these documents is to broaden the rights and increase the responsibility of ministries, departments, associations, enterprises and organizations in this area, in the course of the development of their foreign economic activities, to ensure the independent offering of exported commodities on foreign markets and to generate economic interest in international cooperation and in accelerating the application of the latest achievements of science and technology, and thus to increase the efficiency of foreign economic relations.

The implementation of these decrees marked the beginning of a large structural maneuver in the foreign economic area and the creation of organizational-legal and economic conditions which ensure the utilization of foreign economic factors in accelerating the development of our country's national economy.

Starting with 1987, 22 USSR ministries and departments and 77 associations, enterprises and organizations were given the right to engage directly in export and import operations on foreign markets. This year they must account for about 20 percent of our country's entire foreign trade. Today more than 65 percent of machines and equipment are offered on foreign markets directly by their producers. This is a major step toward the profound democratization of foreign economic activities. As experience is acquired and as corresponding prerequisites become available, the circle of such ministries, associations, enterprises and organizations will be broadened.

Ministries and departments have set up cost accounting foreign trade associations, and enterprises have set up foreign trade firms to handle export and import operations. Eight all-union foreign trade associations and a large number of specialized firms were transferred to them from the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade. Foreign trade associations are also being set up by union republics. They will be exporting essentially republic and local industry goods and include additional resources in trade operations.

Such organizational restructuring necessitated a reduction in the size of the central apparatus of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade and the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations (GKES) and changes

in their structure. Their personnel was reduced by 30 percent, and export and import operations were concentrated within structural subdivisions.

The functions of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade and GKES have changed substantially. The ministry has been put in charge of coordination and control in protecting the interests of the state on foreign markets and of trade in fuel, raw materials, foodstuffs and other commodities of national importance. The USSR GKES deals with all problems of construction, including building projects on Soviet territory with the participation of foreign organizations and companies, related procurements of complete equipment sets and assistance in reaching the planned capacities of projects built abroad.

As early as October 1925 the RKP(b) Central Committee Plenum noted in its resolution the need "to protect in the area of foreign trade the sound interests of industry and agriculture." This is particularly relevant today as well. Currently tremendous importance is ascribed to economic methods in managing foreign economic relations, particularly the development and strengthening of cost accounting, contractual relations, and self-financing and self-support in foreign currency.

Measures were taken above all to improve the planning of foreign economic relations. A separate section on foreign economic activities is being included in the plans drafted for the economic and social development of ministries and enterprises. Starting with 1987 assignments on foreign exchange earnings, income and expenditures have been included and considered part of the end result of foreign economic activities.

For the first time a direct correlation has been established between the results of foreign and other economic activities of enterprises on the basis of differentiated foreign exchange coefficients for the reconversion of foreign trade prices into Soviet rubles. The economic incentive funds are directly affected by the rating given by foreign customers of goods produced by a given enterprise.

The setting up of foreign exchange funds, the absolute amount of which depends on the efficiency of associations, enterprises and organizations in developing exports and upgrading the competitiveness of their output is a most important element in the use of foreign exchange for self-support and self-financing purposes. Such foreign exchange funds are set up by the enterprise from withholdings based on the firm rates set by the USSR Council of Ministers for 1987-1990.

Such withholdings are used above all to pay for importing machines, equipment and materials for technical retooling and reconstruction purposes. Centralized funds will be used only for production facilities of particular importance to the national economy.

Associations, enterprises, organizations, ministries and departments bear the economic responsibility for the implementation of assignments on foreign exchange earnings and must compensate for damages caused by failure of contractual obligations, paid out of the foreign exchange at their disposal.

Cooperation with the fraternal countries was and remains a priority to us. Its main objective is to ensure the conversion from primarily commercial relations to extensive production and scientific and technical cooperation on the basis of direct relations and the creation of joint enterprises and international associations and organizations.

The enterprises have been given the right independently to solve all problems of development of direct relations, to determine the areas and specific targets of cooperation, choose their partners, engage in reciprocal deliveries of cooperated goods, coordinate prices and sign economic contracts. With the exception of small withholdings for the centralized foreign exchange fund of the ministry, all earnings from such activities will remain at the full disposal of the labor collective.

Customs procedures have been substantially simplified. An enterprise maintaining direct production relations will be issued a general license to import and export commodities and property for a period of 1, 3, 5 or more years, during which it can maintain direct relations with other enterprises. The customs authorities will allow the export of technical documentation by enterprises and organizations on the basis of letters issued by such enterprises.

Enterprise and organization managers have been given the right independently to coordinate with enterprises of CEMA-member countries conditions for giving and receiving documentation related to inventions and know-how. Today the manager of an enterprise has the right independently to send delegations or individuals to such countries for a period of up to 1 year to undertake the efficient study of problems related to promoting comprehensive cooperation with the socialist countries.

As a result of these steps, so far more than 670 contracts have been signed on establishing direct relations with enterprises in CEMA-member countries. Convincing examples may be cited of the effectiveness of such relations, such as increasing the production of commodities in short supply, perfecting production technology, shortening the time needed for the development and mastery of new equipment and ensuring the increased use of production capacities (Podolsk Machine Building Plant imeni S. Ordzhonikidze, Orel Management Computers Plant imeni K. N. Rudnev, Institute of Electronic Office Machines in Moscow, Tasma Association in Kazan, Progress Shoe Manufacturing Association in Lvov and others).

Great new opportunities for the development of cooperation are also provided with the creation of joint enterprises and international associations and organizations. So far 12 joint enterprises and 43 international associations and organizations have been created.

New forms of cooperation with capitalist and developing countries are becoming popular. For the first time, seven joint enterprises have been opened on Soviet territory with companies from such countries, including two with Finnish, two with West German and one each with Japanese, Indian and Italian partners. About 250 proposals are under review.

Therefore, restructuring is touching upon all components of the radical reform in the foreign economic complex: improvements in its organization, aimed at directly involving enterprises (associations) in foreign economic activities, renovation of the planning system and creation of a new economic mechanism which ensure a conversion to self-support and self-financing in foreign exchange.

As a result of the initiated restructuring in machine building, sales abroad of metal-cutting machine tools with numerical electronic programming, computers, equipment for ground and strip mining, and lifting equipment have increased somewhat. Energy-generating equipment accounts for a considerable share of such sales. Exports of VAZ passenger cars, bulldozers based on the T-130 tractor, and helicopters have increased and so have, somewhat, sales of other Soviet commodities, such as timber and cellulose-paper goods, ferrous metals, ores and metal concentrates.

In the first half of 1987 our country's foreign economic activities were carried out in difficult and quite adverse circumstances characterized by the continuing worsening of many processes in world economics and trade: the instability of the markets for basic types of fuels and raw materials, increased protectionism by a number of capitalist countries and their discriminatory trade and customs policy. All of this could not fail to affect our foreign trade volume. Soviet foreign trade dropped by 4 percent compared with the same period in 1986, although the rate of decline was half that of 1986. The lowered prices of petroleum, petroleum products, natural gas and other raw materials began to affect also trade between the USSR and the European members of CEMA.

Another aspect which lowers with the capitalist countries is the fact that they are stubbornly protecting their markets from Soviet machine and technical goods and other finished products by applying discriminatory tariffs and erecting trade and political barriers.

A number of industrial ministries did not make full use of opportunities for increasing the production of commodities for export. This was influenced also by the lack of necessary experience and skill and fear of assuming responsibility. Some ministries are not providing the

necessary assistance to enterprises which have been given the right to conduct export and import operations, as a result of which many enterprise foreign trade firms have not as yet begun to work actively.

For the time being, many associations, enterprises and organizations do not make full use of their rights in the area of foreign economic relations or of the real benefits which can be derived from the development of cooperation, particularly in its new aspects. This applies, above all, to the development of direct relations and the creation of joint enterprises, international associations and organizations. No more than the first steps have been taken in this area.

Direct relations are still primarily focused on exchange of experience rather than the organization of industrial cooperation and increasing reciprocal procurements; they are insufficiently directed toward implementing the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress. It is still too early to say that all problems in developing such new forms of cooperation with the socialist countries have already been solved. Further extensive work remains to be done, particularly in matters of price setting and in material and technical procurements.

Problems of developing direct relations and establishing joint enterprises and international associations and organizations with CEMA-member countries were considered at the May 1987 session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. Accomplishments were profoundly analyzed, the need for radical improvements was emphasized and specific assignments were issued to the central economic authorities, ministries and departments.

The necessary steps are still not being taken to increase the production of commodities for export and to improve their competitiveness. Some ministries are not implementing their planned assignments for exports. The practice of residual allocation of resources for export and the inclination toward economically unsubstantiated imports of machines, equipment, and raw and other materials have become deeply ingrained.

The variety of exported machines, equipment and other finished goods is being renovated too slowly; no substantial changes have been made in improving the quality of exported goods. The lack of skilled cadres in foreign economic relations in enterprises is affecting the situation as well.

In order to eliminate such shortcomings, particular attention is now being paid to providing practical aid in solving arising problems by assigning directly to enterprises comprehensive groups of highly skilled specialists in trade, foreign exchange and legal matters.

Nonetheless, the study of laws recently passed, regulating economic matters, including foreign trade, indicates that decision-making procedures should be simplified and the time needed for the coordination of all matters involved in foreign economic activities must be drastically reduced. The rights of enterprises and ministries must be increased and so must their role in this area; the influence of economic instruments must be strengthened. This has been reflected in the steps which were taken by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on 17 September 1987 on further improving foreign economic activities.

In particular, it has been resolved to let USSR ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics solve all problems related to the creation of joint enterprises and international associations and organizations with socialist countries. In order to ensure the active development of direct trade, associations, enterprises and organizations are now allowed to conclude with their partners in the socialist countries, regardless of the existence of treaties and protocols on direct relations, contracts for one-time deliveries of goods, prototypes, instruments, equipment, tools and recycled resources and surplus materials, machines and equipment and for providing services.

With a view to the further intensification of economic interaction with the socialist countries, forms of investment and commercial activities, such as the establishment of stock-holding companies and associations, new to us, will be applied.

The process of decision-making in the creation of joint enterprises with companies from capitalist and developing countries has been greatly simplified. USSR ministries and departments and councils of ministers of union republics have been given the right to make such decisions independently. In order to increase the interest of foreign partners in setting up joint enterprises on Soviet territory, they will operate on a tax-free basis for the first 2 years subsequent to showing a profit.

A number of steps have been stipulated to ensure the further development of economic management methods in foreign trade. Thus, according to the current procedure some withholdings from foreign exchange will be given to producers to promote exports. However, in order to use such earned foreign exchange, the enterprises must go through a long coordination procedure. Currently they have been given the right to purchase without any coordination whatsoever the necessary goods they need via foreign trade associations and firms.

In order to encourage socialist initiative, enterprises and ministries have been given the totally unrestricted right to combine foreign exchange funds and allow their temporary use by other enterprises and by USSR banks, against a certain rate of interest, and to invest such funds abroad.

With a view to ensuring the strict implementation of international obligations by our country, it is stipulated that assignments on the export of the most important commodities and procurements for comprehensive equipment for projects built abroad with the help of the Soviet Union will be included in the plans as state orders and ceilings.

In order actively to involve labor collectives in foreign economic activities, to create export reserves and to benefit from the situation on world markets, associations and enterprises are allowed independently to export goods manufactured over and above the state orders and obligations based on economic contracts.

Other steps aimed at increasing the interest of enterprises, organizations, ministries, departments, and councils of ministers of union republics in developing exports and harnessing for such purposes all available, including local, resources, have been stipulated.

The human factor has a direct influence on the end results of foreign economic activities. This substantially changes the requirements facing specialists in this area. Such specialists must be highly competent in problems of production and operational techniques on foreign markets. They must master the entire arsenal of economic analysis and be fluent in foreign languages. Such specialists must have a sense of socialist enterprise, and the ability to take sensible commercial risks. Naturally, they must be noted for their ideological maturity and high moral quality. This, of course, is a very specific combination of qualities. For the time being, we are short of such specialists. We are training them in accordance with the long-term tasks of our economy and the current trends in world markets.

Under the new circumstances, it has been deemed necessary radically to improve the training, retraining and upgrading the skills of specialists directly engaged in foreign economic trade. To this effect a variety of forms of cadre training will be used, including assigning them to train in foreign banks, companies and firms and inviting in the USSR foreign specialists as consultants.

Skill upgrading and retraining of leading personnel and specialists at enterprises and central authorities will be concentrated within the USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy and the All-Union Academy of Foreign Trade.

The training of professional foreign economic cadres (economists, jurists, financial workers, and others) will be concentrated in specialized institutes and the country's leading universities. The higher educational institutions training engineering-economic specialists will offer a course on foreign economic disciplines with a view to broadening their practical skills. The training of engineering cadres for foreign trade will be assigned to the respective engineering-economic higher education institutions in the various parts of our country by

providing additional training to specialists with higher technical education. The curriculums will be changed and faculties will be enlarged.

The implementation of such steps will enable us to satisfy in full the needs of the national economy for highly skilled cadres and, above all, to supply specialists to foreign trade organizations in industry, enterprises and associations in particular.

Restructuring faces the science of economics with new requirements in the development of pressing problems of improving foreign economic activities. This applies above all to the profound study, scientific development and adoption of new approaches to problems, such as establishing efficient ways for the accelerated inclusion of the USSR in the international division of labor. It is important in this connection to formulate a variety of choices for actively involving major sectorial complexes (machine building, fuel-energy, agroindustrial, chemical-timber and other) and large economic areas and union republics in this process, based on the best possible utilization of their possibilities for developing economic and scientific and technical relations with foreign countries.

In connection with the elaboration of the concept of and the basic directions in the economic and social development of the USSR over the next 15 years, scientists must increase their study of long-term prospects for the development of foreign economic relations and for upgrading their efficiency.

Intensified studies must be made on problems of perfecting Soviet economic and scientific and technical relations, particularly of their new forms, such as industrial cooperation, direct relations, the creation of joint enterprises and assessing the role of the foreign economic factor in the development of the Soviet national economy and its most important sectors. The making by our academic and sectorial scientists of scientific forecasts for the development of global economic relations as a whole, the study of individual commodity markets, the use of progressive forms of cooperation, the summation of progressive achievements in marketing and other problems become particularly relevant in terms of practical activities.

All of this would enable us to upgrade the efficiency of our planning authorities, ministries, departments, enterprises and associations. It would enable them to approach problems of the development of foreign economic relations in accordance with future developments of world economics and progress in the international division of labor.

The strategic course formulated by our party in the field of foreign trade is aimed at upgrading its efficiency, above all by increasing within our exports the share of the processing sectors and the quality and competitiveness of machines, equipment and other finished goods.



Machine exports will be developed, above all, with emphasis on goods produced by advanced scientific-intensive sectors, such as instrument making, electrical engineering, machine tools, electronics, power machine building and aerospace equipment. In the traditional machine building sectors, exports will be increased by steadily updating goods, improving their quality and reliability, equipping them with automation, computerized, microprocessor and laser equipment and robot technology. To this effect production of export commodities by the machine building industry will be concentrated in the largest enterprises and associations with facilities for such output; technical servicing of machines and equipment exported by the Soviet Union will be improved.

The amounts and variety of procurements of chemicals, particularly plastics, synthetic resins and other finished goods will be increased and so will the share of more extensively processed and finished goods in the fuel-energy, timber and metallurgical complexes. There will also be an increase in deliveries of consumer goods, the quality and variety of which will be improved.

At the same time, steps will be taken to improve the efficiency of the Soviet import structure. Priority will be given to machines, equipment and technologies for the technical reconstruction and updating of machine building, while the share of foodstuffs, fuels and raw and other materials will be reduced.

Developing imports and exports of services provides a major opportunity for upgrading the efficiency of foreign economic relations between the USSR and foreign countries. Global practical experience indicates that in some countries services account for 23-30 percent of their overall income from exports of goods and services. In the immediate future we must urgently undertake the extensive exchange of services in foreign trade in order to put to practical use the achievements of scientific and technical progress and organize long-term leasing of equipment, provide engineering consultation services, operate computers, provide automated data processing, and offer consultations on problems of management, advertising, and servicing of other industrial, marketing and management activities of enterprises and organizations.

The development of systems of national and international specialized consulting and application organizations becomes particularly relevant. This enables us to shorten the time of making new developments ready for use, based on the needs of specific customers, and make more flexible the exchange of progressive scientific and production experience with our partners.

Mixed engineering-consulting companies involving the participation of firms from developed capitalist countries must be developed as well.

Foreign trade must encompass more extensively the sociocultural complex, health care, art, cadre training and apprenticeship, etc., in particular.

We ascribe prime significance to developing dynamic cooperation with the socialist countries and believe that its pivot for the next 15 years and the more distant future will be provided by the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress of CEMA members until the year 2000. Its purpose is to ensure, on the basis of a coordinated scientific and technical policy, the creation and extensive production of new types of equipment, technologies and materials meeting world standards, for purposes of the technical retooling of the national economies of the USSR and the other socialist countries. The main thing here is to organize the industrial output of new science-intensive goods, essentially on the basis of cooperation, and their fastest possible practical utilization.

Bearing in mind the significant share of the USSR in the global economy, the restructuring of the Soviet economy will contribute to the development of extensive international cooperation and to improving international economic relations.

Loyal to the policy of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union offers the entire world its concept of international economic security, the purpose of which is to relieve global economic relations from anything which may be burdening them. This concept, which was submitted to the United Nations for consideration, has already become an area of constructive dialogue among all interested countries.

We have substantial opportunities for broadening cooperation with all groups of countries. This includes all types of relations—trade, scientific and technical, financial-credit and others—with Western countries.

Our relations with different economic communities are assuming a certain significance. The talks under way have indicated that reciprocal willingness exists to establish official relations between CEMA and the EEC and between the USSR and the EEC. Once such relations have been established, it will be a question of specifically expanding trade-economic and scientific and technical cooperation between CEMA and the USSR, on the one hand, and the EEC, on the other. The importance of all this is clear. Both organizations play an essential role not only in European but also in global economic relations. I believe that the establishment of relations between them will have not only mutually profitable trade and economic results but very favorable political consequences as well, which is the base from which we proceed.

Our attitude toward GATT is a positive one. The Soviet state is prepared to pursue the rapprochement process which we initiated, with a view to reaching full membership in this agreement.

As far as the International Monetary Fund is concerned, our attitude toward it is somewhat different, for we see in this organization major faults and shortcomings which prevent the participation of our country in its activities. We are ready to establish scientific contacts with the IMF on the level of experts, in order to exchange views on the currency situation and seek ways of reforming the international monetary system.

Within UNCTAD our country as well has formulated a variety of initiatives aimed at normalizing world trade, including trade in raw materials. This will be of major importance to the developing countries. In the United Nations and other international organizations, the Soviet Union supports the progressive concepts of the new economic order, which should contribute to establishing fair economic relations among all countries.

As we know cooperation is based on reciprocity. In this case we must take strictly into account the interest of all sides and totally abandon all restrictions, boycotts and embargoes. In the contemporary world economic relations can be based only on equality, trust and strict observance of reciprocal agreements. Ignoring these aspects and subordinating trade and economic relations to unseemly political considerations is simply unwise. Historical experience has proved the total groundlessness of such efforts.

With this in mind, suggestions on ensuring international economic security, aimed at eliminating anything which hinders global economic relations today, were formulated in the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress.

In applying new forms of economic relations, interacting with its foreign partners, the Soviet state will proceed on the basis of respect for the principles of mutual profitability and will guarantee the protection of their interests and their rights.

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**Economic Management and Monetary Turnover**  
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[Text] The June CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the Seventh Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, ratified a program of work for a radical

restructuring of economic management. For the first time in the last 55 years the financial-credit mechanism is undergoing radical reform. This reform will be a structural element in the interrelated package of radical reforms in national economic management, aimed at the fuller utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and the opportunities offered by the socialist organization of public reproduction under contemporary conditions. Priority in the formulated strategy is assumed by current tactical problems—methodical, organizational and personnel.

## I

The current financial-crediting mechanism does not allow us to shift the economy to the track of stable intensive growth, for it is structured on the basis of the intensified putting into circulation of cash, which actually eliminates in the case of sectors, enterprises and regions the problem of the efficient use of the industrial, raw material and labor potential and leads to increased use of resources. Funds for planned turnover are provided largely through excessive increase in loans. It is on this basis that a process of credit inflation develops, which contributes to the growth of current and capital outlays for commodity output, surplus material stocks in the economy and unfinished construction.

The reform in finances and credits will be the more successful the more decisively we reject the stereotypes of extensive economic management, which took decades to develop. Conversely, their retention could have an extremely hindering effect on restructuring economic management. It is a question, above all, of the "physical" thinking of planning workers, economic managers and financial personnel. Starting with the 1930s, the main feature in the national economic plans and in organizing and evaluating the work of enterprises and sectors was that of the volume of output in terms of pieces, tons and meters of output and summed up value indicators—gross and commodity output. Under these circumstances money, finances and credits acted as auxiliary, as secondary economic instruments. Many generations of Soviet economic managers were raised in the spirit of such concepts as being self-evident and unquestionable.

Today this situation must be changed radically. As conceived by the reform, money will regain its natural feature as the universal equivalent of material values. This feature was clearly formulated by Marx in "Das Kapital:" "...Prices are the loving eyes of commodities looking at money..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 120). It is precisely money which, with a view to economic intensification, becomes the objective proof of the social need and usefulness of a product by paying for a commodity or service (or refusing to do so), of the profitability or unprofitability of a given product, etc. Today to be an economic manager means to be not only an economist but a financier as well.

The "stereotype of departmentalism" is particularly dangerous. According to it, the restructuring of planning is a matter for the Gosplan; of material and technical procurements, for the Gossnab; of crediting, for the banking system, etc. Practical experience indicates, however, that any major national economic problem is interdepartmental. Under the conditions of intensification planning can successfully solve problems if it encompasses simultaneously material, labor and monetary resources. A conversion from procurements based on funded stocks and orders to wholesale trade in means of production cannot be accomplished by the Gossnab alone, without including financial-crediting and price management instruments. The financial-credit reform is not departmental but affects the entire national economy.

Also very dangerous are the "scientific stereotypes" concerning finances under socialism. The theoretical stipulations on which such science is based and presented to students developed essentially during the period of "physical" national economic planning and management. Such planning ascribed to financial-credit relations in the economy a strictly subordinate role. The main task was that of providing full financing of planned expenditures regardless of any planned returns or recovery. Traditionally, the science of finance proceeds from the priority of material resources compared to monetary. For example, it deals essentially with the material working capital and only to a small extent with funds and fiscal obligations. It is unconcerned by the fact that the amount of delinquent payments in the economy, particularly in the case of bank loans, increases faster than other economic indicators. Yet this is nothing but a manifestation of irresponsible utilization of all resources by enterprises and sectors—material, labor and monetary. Or else, like the other economic disciplines, the science of finance studies the capital assets of enterprises, sectors and farms as a whole rather than their capital, as the subject of the science itself would let us believe. Actually, in this case monetary turnover is a virtual "blank spot." Yet it is precisely this turnover that is becoming one of the most important projects in planned management.

For a long period of time the utilization of the entire "social capital" worsened. This applied to both fixed (lowered capital returns) and working (slowed turnover of working capital). Each ruble of outlays in the economy is yielding increasingly small returns. As long as this trend has not been halted any steps taken to improve the financial situation can only provide temporary and unstable results.

The average service life of equipment in industry, which is the leading sector, has been systematically extended, and has now reached 28 years. New generations of equipment and technologies in the world appear on an average each 7 to 9 years. According to the USSR Promstroybank, it takes about 6 years and, in some

sectors, 9, to complete initiated projects. This means that if the current situation remains unchanged, we will find ourselves one generation behind the current state of equipment and technology.

In order to prevent this, we must confidently narrow the already existing gap and reliably balance material with financial-credit resources in the country's national economy. We know that the USSR Gosplan draws up the 5-year financial balance for the state. However, this plan is not a governmental assignment issued to the national economy in terms of the volume and speed of turnover of monetary resources but merely a monetary "survey" of already committed expenditures for capital investments, increased working capital and other requirements. With such a planning method money is not a limiting factor in economic expenditures but, conversely, passively trails behind material ratios. It does not force the planning authorities, sectors and enterprises to base economic expenditures on available funds but encourages higher and excessive outlays for material and labor resources. Consequently, we need a new method in national economic planning. Unquestionably, the plan for the 13th 5-year period should be balanced in physical and financial terms. It is precisely such a plan that would provide scope for the use of cost accounting instruments and the self-support and self-financing of enterprises and associations.

Clearly, in theory the following circumstance is unquestionable: if a socialist enterprise operates as a commodity producer, the national economic plan must be converted from physical (in which the leading indicators are pieces, tons, and meters of output) to commodity-monetary, in which amounts and varieties of goods are countered by funds in the hands of consumers, such as sectors, enterprises or the population, or else in which the national economic supply of goods is consistent with solvent demand. It is thus that the "compatibility" between planning and cost accounting management instruments is attained, i.e., the integrity of the public economic management system. In the opposite case, plan and cost accounting will be "separated" from each other which, incidentally, was one of the reasons for the failure of the 1965 economic reform. It would be a mistake to reduce the reform in planning to decreasing the number of material balances drafted by the Gosplan or to transfer some of its planning powers to the Gossnab system. This would amount to changes within the limits of the current planning method. The dilemma currently is the following: we must have either a physical plan and a curtailed and formal cost accounting or else a commodity-monetary plan and full cost accounting and self-financing of enterprises. As practical experience has indicated, there are no middle grounds.

A balanced plan is the type of physical-financial plan in which each side is "equal." This means that plans could include assignments for construction, production output, transportation and consumption, which would be fully consistent with the amount and turnover speed of

the country's monetary funds. In other words, this is providing that the two main "gears" of the planning mechanism are fully and reliably "meshed." It is true that for the time being there are no planning workers with experience in handling such tools. It was only the First 5-Year Plan that was drafted as a physical-financial plan. This circumstance, however, should not be an obstacle to perfecting the planning process. Until 1920, when the GOELRO plan was formulated, there was no practical experience whatsoever in national economic planning. Such experience developed in the course of the work itself. As we know, in his article "On a Unified Economic Plan," V. I. Lenin assessed the GOELRO plan as a work of science, a truly scientific plan.

The new method for national economic planning, we believe, should include as one of its most important assignments not only rates of distribution of income—profit, wages, bonuses, and so on—but, above all, their base—rates (recovery, turnover) of national economic outlays, such as amortization, write-off and updating of fixed capital, its profitability, and the turnover of working capital as a result of combining within planning computations income and outlays of material and monetary resources within the turnover, the reproduction process.

In practical terms, this will mean that not all, and not all kinds of technical and technological solutions, projects, deadlines and quality of construction and plans for reconstruction will be included in the plan but only the truly economical ones, i.e., those according to which outlays can be recovered within planned periods of time (which are becoming ever shorter, and are approaching the 7-9-year span). The purpose of such economic rates is to eliminate inefficient alternatives in building, technology and organization of marketing from the entire array of preplan suggestions. With such rigid limits of the plan, we shall be unable to tolerate the use of obsolete equipment or idling of technological equipment, resource overexpenditures and "frozen" stocks in warehouses.

The extensive use of essentially economic methods in management, replacing primarily administrative ones can be effective only with strict balancing of material with monetary resources in the economy and in the national economic plan and in the course of its implementation. Economic methods—prices, bank interest rates, profits, fines, wages, bonuses, etc.—are set on a monetary basis and actively influence the economy through the high value of the ruble. The strengthening of economic management methods by cost accounting collectives and a weak financial and crediting system are incompatible.

In our view, in converting associations and enterprises to self-financing, within a period of a few years we should reduce (restrict) wholesale payment turnover and correspondingly improve their book balances. Reducing the amount of money in circulation would force the economic organizations to get rid of unnecessary surpluses

of stockpiled reserves of raw and other materials and finished goods in their warehouses and semifinished goods in their shops. This will also be the purpose of self-financing, providing that it is strictly observed. This will promote incentives for accelerating the turnover of working capital and the efficient management of current economic activities. Improving the balance sheet would lay a real foundation for determining the true condition of the economy.

In order to make the volume of expanded construction consistent with the actual possibilities of the economy, we must conduct a parallel overall inventory taking of construction facilities. We must determine the targets of prime national economic significance and complete them faster while temporarily halting other projects under construction. Such steps would enable us to shorten the length of construction and, consequently, to increase returns on capital investments faster. At the same time, the possibility will appear of reviewing and, in the necessary cases, updating the cost estimates of all halted projects, on the basis of the latest technology. This will enable us to increase future efficiency. It will create conditions for accelerating the turnover of the entire "social capital" and for improving its yields and returns. A similar financial maneuver was made in 1932 in our country and yielded positive results.

Improvements in the planned and actual balancing of material and monetary flows will enable us to change priorities in the development of sectors, production facilities and regions and, on this basis, to make progressive structural changes in the national economy. Of late priorities have largely been determined by the acute shortages caused by the imbalance, which is the result of insufficient "coupling" of material with monetary flows. This distorts the priorities which are inherent in the socialist economy. The planned coordination of material with monetary resources will enable us increasingly to direct the development of the economy to meet increased individual and social consumption, satisfying the wide range of social needs, strengthening the country's defense capability and developing its production potential such as to ensure a dynamic and intensive growth of the economy.

## II

Balanced management and self-financing of enterprises will create a real foundation for converting from material and technical procurements based on funded stocks and allocations to wholesale trade in means of production. This is attainable only by replacing the plans for the allocation of resources, traditional in "physical" planning, with plans based on supply and demand; this would enable us to combine the activities of "wholesale merchants" with the interests of enterprises as commodity producers. Responsibility for the substantiated formulation and implementation of planned balances should be transferred from administrative to cost accounting authorities which are actually in charge of the resource

turnover. Only one method can be used in administrative distribution, which is to provide promptly to the customers documents on the resources allocated to them. The extent of their economic substantiation is practically unassessable.

The responsibility of the cost accounting organization is another matter. Wholesale procurements-marketing and trade associations, operating on the basis of cost accounting, of the Gosnab, Gosagroprom, Goskomrezerv and Ministry of Trade, could play this role on a contractual basis, with purchasing and selling operations, thus promoting the turnover of material resources in the economy. A similar organization of the work was the mark of the activities of state syndicates in the 1920s, the "wholesale merchants" of the state, particularly the All-Russian Textile Syndicate, which was set up by V. P. Nogin, and was considered a model for its time. The administrative allocation of resources in this case was systematically replaced by marketing means of production in accordance with the solvent demand of enterprises and associations and budget-financed organizations. Material and financial balancing and the self-financing of cost accounting enterprises, wholesale trade and a flexible price setting, combined, are the main prerequisites for the elimination of the "diktat by the producer" as well as its consequences—the sluggish reaction to changing demand and to scientific and technical innovations.

Intensification drastically upgrades the role and significance of the banking system in national economic management. The point is that increasing or reducing the amount of money in circulation is controlled by the Gosbank. It is precisely the bank which performs the emission function of the state. It organizes the entire monetary circulation in the country. "Monetary circulation is the thing which can perfectly determine the satisfactory nature of turnover in the country and should such turnover be incorrect, money becomes useless bits of paper" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Completed Collected Works] vol 43, p 66).

The credit-banking mechanism operates in such a way that issuing loans increases the amount of money in circulation (in its cashless and, subsequently, cash aspects), while repaid loans remove money from circulation. In a balanced economy the crediting of enterprises is converted from an auxiliary operation into one of the most important instruments of centralized management and a stimulant for work efficiency and quality. The following rule becomes mandatory: conditions for granting loans must include conditions for their repayment. Otherwise the economy becomes overloaded with money, which has negative consequences. Lenin pointed out that generous lending funds by the state bank to weak enterprises threatens to bring about state bankruptcy (see op cit., vol 6, p 259).

The procedure governing the work of bank institutions, which developed under the circumstances of extensive economic management, does not have clear limits on

granting loans. Need for funds are met by the bank not only by using the funds of associations, enterprises, economic organizations and the population but also by extending (postponing) and writing off delinquent obligations and the extensive emission of new cash. As a result the assets (credit resources) of the banks may increase and indeed do increase to amounts which can satisfy virtually any demand of the economy for funds. We must now set a strict limit to the lending possibilities of a bank. The banks must set up their credit resources on the basis of economically accurate sources such as capitalization, bank profits, real stable assets (long-term and medium-term deposits), repayable state budget allocations and emission of funds strictly within the limits of the growth of easily marketable (liquid) material values within the national economy. Any other sources of crediting should be firmly eliminated from bank practices, for they are an improper injection of cash in circulation with all the consequences in terms of the stability of the ruble, prices and the country's entire monetary system.

Under the new conditions the question arises of the legitimacy not only of direct banking but also commercial (by one enterprise to another) lending. This is a two-edged weapon. Depending on the circumstances, it could strengthen or disrupt the normal course of monetary circulation. In our view, it would be useful to look at the experience of commercial crediting within the system of the All-Russian Textile Syndicate. The syndicate ordered goods from production associations (trusts) which it obtained on credit; it supplied retail trade and the clothing industry also on credit. Earnings in retail trade from the sale of goods to consumers went the opposite way, systematically repaying the loans. In this manner all units—production, wholesale trade and retail trade—were directly aimed at achieving overall end results and satisfying demand. If goods remained unsold the stores were unable to repay their debts to the syndicate which, in turn, could not repay the trusts. The scarcity of funds for meeting payrolls, meeting obligations to the state budget and purchasing the next batch of goods was felt by everyone. With such an organization reciprocal crediting operated efficiently, firmly and smoothly, becoming more reliable and profitable.

The decision has been made to set up a banking system operating on two levels. The USSR Gosbank will retain leading functions as the country's central bank: it will be the sole emissions center which will be fully responsible for the monetary circulation system. For the time being this responsibility is divided among departments and no one can be held answerable. In the words of Vasilii Terkin: "They were all good boys, beautiful. They can be blamed for nothing, but the village was not taken." It is extremely important for the banking institutions, with a view to stimulating the efficient work of enterprises and associations, to operate on a cost accounting basis. This presumes charging not only for making loans but for all types of deposits, assessing activities on the basis of the difference between income and outlays related to credit

operations, and stimulating the interest of bank workers based on returns on deposits. The specialized banks as well must set up their lending funds on the basis of planned allocations of the central bank, and their own funds and funds extracted from the economy, and ensure the prompt repayment of loans. It is only by promptly settling accounts for loans and other payments that enterprises could request new loans. The overwhelming amount of enterprise working capital should come from enterprise sources. Enterprises operating on a cost accounting basis must not be always in debt, for this is the road which leads directly to waste and irresponsibility.

The question of clearly distinguishing among the resources and functions of the state budget, the lending fund of banks and the funds of enterprises and associations becomes relevant. For the time being the state budget records income several days after goods have been produced and uses such funds for financing purposes, i.e., it creates solvent demand. Meanwhile, the commodity with which such demand is met will "reach" its point of contact with the customer only 100 days later on an average. The revenue part of the state budget should be formed not only on the basis of stable rates but also on the basis of the actual (realized) income of economic units, which would exclude putting in circulation bank loans and working capital of normally operating enterprises, something which disorganizes monetary turnover. Withholdings for the state budget from profits and the turnover tax should be computed on the basis of annual and quarterly balance sheets of payors, which would reflect all actual income. Correspondingly, it is necessary to set for the state budget a strictly demarcated range of mandatory outlays, such as for financing the development of essentially new equipment and technologies, the economic development of new areas, sociocultural needs, defense and general administration, and the creation of financial state reserves. This would contribute to actually eliminating budget deficits and thus surmounting inflationary processes.

The insurance authorities must develop their basic functions which are to limit and prevent, on a cost accounting basis, losses by enterprises and the population caused by natural disasters and other unforeseen situations. The scope of insurance, which is relatively insignificant in terms of its possibilities, could be drastically expanded if it is extended to the nonagrarian sectors of the national economy (insurance of goods in transit, production reserves of enterprises, production capital insured against premature wearing out, etc.), and by offering a wide range of types of insurance, including full compensation for losses.

Under the conditions of a radical reform, the organization of financial relations along the ministry (intersectorial complex)-enterprise (association) line is extremely important. Here as well we must make planning and commodity-monetary instruments compatible. So far,

however, the sectorial ministries (administrative organizations) have been merely a transmission gear between the central departments and cost accounting collectives. The existing experience in sectorial cost accounting has been formal and underproductive. In our view, a clear demarcation of functions in this case could be the following: enterprises would bear material responsibility for their own economic results in accordance with the law, while ministries would be responsible for the monetary aspect of the results of research, design and engineering and experimental development, which are materialized in their capital investments, involving basic reconstruction and updating of existing production facilities and creating new ones. In our view, the ministries could act as the "keepers" of the fixed capital which is assigned for use by collectives for pay. In this case the enterprises will act as lessors in terms of their sector. The possibility of such leasing relations between collectives and society under socialism was described by Engels in his article "On the Housing Problem:" "...The 'working people' will be the overall owner of homes, factories and labor tools. The use of such homes, factories, and so on, will not be possible, at least during times of transition, for individuals or associations which cannot meet the cost. In precisely the same way the elimination of land ownership does not presume the elimination of the land rent but instead calls for transferring it, in a different form, to society. The actual possession of all labor tools on the part of the working people does not, consequently, exclude in the least the retention of rentals and the leasing of facilities" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op cit., vol 18, p 278).

With such a structure of economic relations it is not the forced "application" of scientific and technical innovations but real financial interests that become incentives for activity. Actually, technological progress becomes the only source of increased income of self-financing ministries. The more advanced the equipment which is delivered for use becomes, the higher becomes the leasing price. The sector does not "clip coupons" based on enterprise income but earns its income through its own efforts. It has its own "pocket" and the enterprises have theirs. Their relations convert from command-execution into partnership relations which are based on true cost accounting. Petty supervision becomes unnecessary. The ministry becomes the actual scientific and technical headquarters. It intervenes in enterprise affairs only under exceptional circumstances, chronic losses, and so on, as stipulated in the law.

### III

The implementation of these considerations on improving national economic planning and the mechanism and organizational forms of financing and crediting would make it possible, in our view, to protect the economy from the circulation of unnecessary funds and thus to strengthen incentives for the efficiency of the entire

public production system. However, we must also solve the problem of eliminating the existing inflationary potential, i.e., of withdrawing the surplus funds circulating in the economy.

This potential cannot be eliminated with a single act, by changing the value of the currency or amending the scale of wholesale and retail prices, for such steps would undermine confidence of the economy and the population in the monetary system. Consequently, in the first stages of restructuring, the inflationary pressure of surplus money will remain. This will require the exercise of a strictly centralized state policy in the fiscal area. A set of steps will have to be taken to stabilize and subsequently to eliminate the existing inflationary potential. Their main trend will be limiting the circulation of more money, in their cash or cashless form, based on the overall value of the turnover of material resources, and lowering the growth rates of loans to the economy compared with the growth rates of output.

It is important to limit the lending possibilities of the banks by setting a standard for mandatory reserves, such as the one set by the Gosbank for the specialized banks. Such reserves must not be used as a lending source. This would reduce resources for short-term loans and block cash emissions for lending purposes. The banks would exert a more active influence on enterprises and associations, forcing them to reduce their stockpiles and accumulated material values. At the same time, bank resources would be used to add to the funds which in the past were directly or indirectly removed from the lending fund.

It would also be expedient to restructure the interest rate policy of the banks relative to population deposits and funds deposited by associations and kolkhozes, and to lower or entirely eliminate interest rates paid on current accounts and deposits on demand and substantially raise interest rates on long-term deposits of enterprises and the population. This would ease the stress on the consumer market and, in the future, increase the incentive to save. Higher interest rates for term deposits by enterprises and kolkhozes would weaken pressure on the market for investment resources. Steps should also be taken to encourage directing a significant portion of dissatisfied population demand into various types of nonproduction investments, such as voluntary specific loans (housing, car purchases, recreation, and others), with strict time delivery guarantees; making medium-term and long-term deposits in savings banks with a progressive scale of interest rates; making investments in insurance operations and comprehensively promoting population services. Interesting experience in this respect has been acquired by Hungary, where the local councils draw population funds to finance the construction of consumer projects by floating voluntary loans guaranteed by the state. Steps aimed at attracting population funds for the development of the local economy are being taken in Romania as well.

Changes in interest rate policy in the area of passive bank operations also presume a restructuring of interest rates in the area of active operations, which would enable us efficiently to control the solvent demand of enterprises and the population.

The circulation of cash is always closely related to cashless payments. Surplus amounts of the latter are the financial base for wages not closely related to end labor results. Consequently, surplus payments unjustifiably increase the population's monetary income. Thus, a certain percentage of the resources for financing capital investments and enterprise production stocks is converted into cash payments (such as wages and bonuses to construction workers, machine builders and metallurgical and transportation workers whose output goes into capital construction). Conditions for implementing the principle of payment according to labor are set in the formulation of the national economic plans, although they are manifested in daily life, which includes the work results of collectives, the cash registers of enterprises, stores and consumer service enterprises, and so on. The balanced management of the economy offers incomparably greater opportunities for the implementation of this principle, for in this case income is based on labor contribution and there is no "surplus" cash. Surplus funds are a "nutritive" ground for unearned income. The financial-banking system plays an active role in the struggle against such an intolerable economic and social ill. In his time, in considering the variety of ways and means applied in blocking unearned income, in his work "The Threatening Catastrophe and How to Fight It," Lenin wrote: "Workers and peasants, rallied in associations, can very easily organize true and universal control over the rich, the type of control which would restore to the treasury the cash it has issued, from those who have such cash and those who hoard it, by introducing the mandatory use of checks for all rich people, lifting trade secrets, confiscating the property of those who conceal their income, and so on" (op cit., vol 34, p 189). Under contemporary conditions, in order to block unearned income, we could introduce a procedure for the purchasing of expensive consumer goods only through the cashless method, on the basis of savings accounts books or the bookkeeping services of enterprises and organizations (as is practiced when buying goods on credit). Nonetheless, the condition of monetary circulation requires a very cautious approach to superficially attractive suggestions on reassessing (reducing) deposits in savings banks, setting high inheritance tax rates and other similar measures, which could lead to a drastic increase in demand and to a disturbance in the consumer goods market.

The conversion of the national economy to stable intensive and balanced development is difficult. It requires coordinated, interrelated and systematic steps on all levels of production and management. A number of financial and planning workers, who had become accustomed to the current practice in the course of decades and have learned to live with it, can think only in terms



of the existing structure of financial-crediting relations. The same reasoning is used in the curriculums of schools of economics, which train the cadres of future specialists. Everyone must profoundly realize the irreversibility of change and his own place in the forthcoming extensive work, the sharp breaking of stereotypes of customary methods, and the efforts to master new means of work. This is one of the basic prerequisites for the reform's success.

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### Democracy and Competence

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[Article by Georgiy Aleksandrovich Tovstonogov, artistic manager of the Leningrad Bolshoy Drama Theater imeni M. Gorkiy]

[Text] Restructuring in the theater, as in any other area of activity, brings to light not only the overall laws and trends of this complex process but also something specific, something determined by the nature of the art of the stage. However, occasionally it is precisely the specific and even unique situation, studied knowledgeably by high-class specialists, that helps us to realize the essence and complexity of the overall movement, its problems, difficulties and heterogeneous nature. Following is a talk between O. Kuprin, *Kommunist* correspondent, and Georgiy Aleksandrovich Tovstonogov.

People who know Georgiy Aleksandrovich Tovstonogov well have noted his sense of irony and frequently biting humor, benevolent and condescending attitude and autocratic mannerism. Many people have considered as the "maximalism of talent" or even as seditious his thoughts on the modern theater and the plays he has directed. The reason was that Tovstonogov's truth has always been (in the eyes of hypocrites and assurance-seekers) open and frightening because of his frankness and the impossibility of deflecting it without asking oneself direct and painful questions, such as:

"Why do we need 640 theaters if at least two-thirds of them are ignored by the public?"

This was the question which my interlocutor asked after an exchange of theatrical impressions, those of Georgiy Aleksandrovich from Kostroma and mine from Volgograd. I answered his question with a question of my own:

*Do you believe that unnecessary theaters should be closed down?*

And can you conceive of a plant which, year after year, has been systematically fulfilling its plan 5 or 10 percent? In our theatrical world, alas, this is a very real situation.

*After state inspection was introduced it became apparent that there were also plants 90 percent of whose output was considered faulty. Their prosperity turned out fictitious.*

In our work faults can be seen with the naked eye: empty seats. The financial plan, however, could nonetheless be implemented. Tickets are purchased wholesale by enterprises, everything in the cash register is in order but there are no audiences. What is this if not figure padding? The theater exists not for the sake of fulfilling a financial plan but for the people. To give performances in empty halls is as wasteful and stupid as piling up millions of pairs of unsold shoes in warehouses. In our work a defective good must be honestly described as such. Many of our theaters have allowed such "defective goods" in recent years, with no one keeping track but instead displaying all too much tolerance. To the extent to which officialdom was worried, the worry was directed elsewhere. As a rule, bureaucrats were concerned not with quality but with quantity. How much have we lost as a result of the blind reverence for figures! Before the war there were more than 900 theaters and today their number is fewer by almost one-third. This is a shame! What would our ideological opponents think of us!

Whatever the case, we will not catch up with the capitalists. There are 17 theaters in Leningrad and some 80 theaters in Paris. However, the principle of organization of the work in that city is different. A company is put together for one play, for one show. It works as long as there is full house and then disbands. In our country it is totally different. What is the point of comparisons? Who is it that invented such statistical rivalry? Let us look at things realistically.

For example, let us say that there are two theaters in a given oblast. One is located in the center and the other, the smaller, in a city under oblast jurisdiction. As a rule, one of them is unnecessary. It would be better to switch its subsidy to the other, to enlarge the company somewhat in order to be able to perform simultaneously on two stages and let the other theater perform in the neighboring city for a couple of months a year.

The question was clearly formulated at the June CPSU Central Committee: If an enterprise proves to be unviable we should consider either its reorganization or termination of its activities. Why should the same type of sanctions not apply in the case of a bankrupt theater?

*What is preventing this?*

A great many things. Let me name merely two very serious obstacles. The first is that such a reform may threaten some actors with the necessity of changing jobs. Let us honestly acknowledge this and consider in advance what will happen to such people instead of avoiding to solve a grave social problem. This is not a question which affects strictly the theater. As was pointed out at the Central Committee plenum, our time calls for taking a new look at the problem of efficient



employment in our society. There are more than enough cadre disproportions in our country. How many unnecessary people are there in the administrative apparatus on different levels? This is a national problem. Recently published figures show that of late the administrative apparatus had been expanding in the country by 300,000 to 500,000 people annually and that today this apparatus number 18.6 million employees. Therefore theater troubles are merely a drop in a sea of union-wide cadre problems. Nonetheless, they are a drop of that same sea.

We are obviously on the threshold of a mass retraining of workers in different departments, people who perform functions which are either totally unnecessary or who are performed indifferently. *Kommunist* cited the following fact: according to sociologists, no more than one-third of all employed people work at full capacity and those who work with maximal social usefulness, I would think, are even fewer. Actors of failing theaters are part of the huge army of people who do virtually nothing.

Incidentally, this army is growing, regardless of social needs, quantitatively and even less so qualitatively.

*In other words, in economic parlance, the training of actors in the country is organized on an extensive basis, which, in the final account, has led to overproduction. Is that so?*

Good people are always scarce. In terms of quantity, however, we are probably in a leading position in the world. Here once again we are paying dues to figures. Why do we need so many theater VUZs? I shall not speak of the other republics (which train cadres for their own national theaters) but of the Russian Federation. There are three theater VUZs in Moscow and a fourth in Leningrad. Why did we have to open another one in Yaroslavl? Who will be training directors there, shall we say, when for months on end they have been looking elsewhere for an artistic manager for their own famous Volkov Theater?

*For reasons of prestige, most likely. All sorts of things are being done for the sake of prestige! Prestige plants have been built where there were no personnel to staff them. Prestige palaces have been built which can have full house only when there are championship figure skating competitions, while amateur artistic performances are staged in basements....*

A stupid interpretation of prestige plus parochialism are very typical features of contemporary bureaucratism in art. We mentioned how difficult it is to close down an unnecessary theater. I named one difficulty. The second is of purely bureaucratic origin. Imagine a gorkom secretary or ispolkom chairman thinking as follows: "Ten years from now someone will remember us and will say: So these are the people who closed down the theater. We may do a great deal of good and this will be accepted as something natural, and those who accomplished it will be forgotten. But closing a theater, even an empty one,

creates notoriety. So, let it stay open!" That is the way many city managers think. It is no more difficult to close down a theater than to open a new one. Furthermore, new theaters in our country frequently appear bureaucratically, by order from above.

*Example?*

By my guest. A youth theater was set up in Leningrad. But how was it done? They took a small amateur company and added graduates of the institute, students who had failed to make the Theater imeni Lensovet. An order appointing the chief director was issued. A very ordinary theater appeared in the city. Meanwhile, not a single theater studio could be found.

*I know that you are a warm admirer of studios.*

I am convinced that the future of our art is in the studios. Creativity must make its way from the bottom upwards and not be decreed from above. Creativity and formalism are incompatible both artistically and organizationally. The theater is a living organism. No one will argue this point. But why are we so afraid of extending this analogy: living things are born, mature, age and die. A theater which was once world famous should not be mummified, turning it into a monument to antiquity. This is unnatural. Yet it has been done. Dead art, if supported by bureaucratic injections, inevitably triggers stagnation. It was thus that the bureaucratized MKHAT system eventually turned into its opposite. In the final account, any frozen, any canonized revolutionism turns into reaction and regression. Once again this does not apply to art alone but to all social life. Remember how hard V. I. Lenin fought dogmatism. Remember Marx: "The traditions of all dead generations weigh like a nightmare on the minds of the living."

*We are currently discussing a variety of models of contemporary theater and seeking a solution to the developing crisis in this art. Several choices have been suggested: one-show theaters, as they do in the West, theaters in which the director works on a contract basis, and so on. Such variety seems justified. However, whether a theater has an appointed or elected chief director or a "one-show magician," or a visiting director for a year, one way or another, such a director, whether permanent or temporary, must manage the company. Obviously, the training of such leaders is a rather delicate matter. But how to do it?*

The only way I see it is through studios.

*To the best of my knowledge, there has been no studio stage in the career of Director Tovstonogov.*

But there was. After the war I came to Moscow. At that time front-line theaters were being converted into touring companies. These mobile theaters were, essentially, studios, some of which had not even premises for rehearsals. It was precisely one such theater to which I

was assigned. We traveled around the country and gave performances. The actors were graduates of the GITIS, of which I was an alumni. We quickly found a common language. We adapted and invented things. For the first time I was offered the opportunity to give a company its artistic shape. We staged several plays which earned us a decent reputation. In short, this was good studio training, after which I felt quite confident in staging plays in more established theaters.

This was an important albeit short period in my career. A typical example which, unfortunately, until recently was the only one of its kind, was Oleg Yefremov's Sovremennik Theater. This theater developed from a studio as a result of a creative need and creative pattern rather than administrative whim. A leader showed up who had his own artistic program, was able to inspire the people and lead them and show the type of result which turned out to be the first serious performance of the play "Eternally Alive." This production of a talented director and like-minded actors gave the studio the right to become a theater. I emphasize, *mandatorily like-minded*. In a new studio valuable creative like-mindedness develops naturally and does not conflict in the least with the individuality of the actor. It is a question, if you wish, of the same type of artistic profession of faith, of an artistic program shared by all.

It was precisely the studio principle that I was able to apply from the very first steps of my work with the Bolshoy Drama Theater. I already had some experience, reputation and authority, which enabled me to demand a decisive renovation of the company and to put together a group which shared my artistic program. Had that condition been rejected today's Bolshoy Drama Theater would not have existed and nor would I have moved to it. When a new artistic manager arrives the theater must be basically renovated, both creatively and organizationally.

*If we follow this train of thought, a young and talented person, a potential leaders, who finds himself in an already established company could hardly prove himself as an unusually good director, perhaps for the fact alone that that theater may profess another type of artistic faith or else become accustomed to not having any.*

I believe that it is precisely this that explains the catastrophic scarcity of knowledgeable and unusual directors. In our country frequently unsuitable people become chief directors. There is no criterion for assessing, not to mention a mechanism for promoting, such cadres. I staged at the Leningrad Theater imeni Leninskiy Komsomol the same play which I had staged several months earlier in Moscow. An opening appeared for a chief director and I was invited. This is how important opportunity is.

I had a student named Gennadiy Trostyanetskiy. After graduating from our Leningrad institute, he went to work in Omsk. The chief director there was sick and

Gennadiy was appointed. Is this accidental? Naturally, it is. He directed a play successfully then second and a third one. He won a state prize. Today he is in great demand. His "Sad Detective," based on V. Astafyev's story, is playing at the Theater imeni Mossovet in Moscow. He is popular and liked because he has his own view on art, his own program. His career is a happy exception. A theater's artistic manager who is nothing but a craftsman will not accept an innovator, for fear of the nontraditional, the original. A great deal is being said and written about it. But let us openly acknowledge something else: a creative person with his own artistic program, who heads a theater, would also not accept such a person.

*Would you?*

I would not. Furthermore, I have repeatedly refused to accept good directors because, although I respect and value their views, I implement my own. It took years to assemble this company, which was attracted precisely by my own program which has become our common artistic credo. Let me repeat the old adage once again: the theater is a living organism and its philosophy and mentality cannot be changed with each new play. In this sense the fate of a theater is not like that of an actor, who must become part of a different character every day.

I had an assistant. Once he was invited to stage a play in another Leningrad theater. The show was successful and I liked it. He asked me: "Now, will I be given my own directing at the BDT?" No, I answered, but I shall do everything possible so that you may have your own theater. You are not the director of the BDT. You are a good master of your work but not for our collective. He became the chief director of the Theater imeni Lensovet. Naturally, you know him: People's Actor of the USSR I. Vladimirov.

*This leads to the conclusion that you do not set yourself the task of training your replacement.*

No, I do not set myself insoluble problems. Not even Stanislavskiy was able to train a successor. Name even a single major director who has been able to do it. Who, for example, replaced Bertolt Brecht? No one. This is impossible in the theater, because everyone has his own face, his own personality. There can be no other Meyerhold or Tairov in art. As a teacher you may bring up the talents of a person but this person is different. To create a duplicate of yourself is a stupid concept and, in the final account, of no educational value. I must give my student the methodology of Stanislavskiy to which, unfortunately, today little attention is being paid. This great legacy is being used sluggishly. I deem it my duty, above all, to expose the future director to such a methodology. At this point no high adjectives are needed. This is elementary. The analogy is accurate: a person must acquire basic literacy. He must learn to write, as to what to write and how to write is already his own affair. Stanislavskiy's methodology is the grammar of stage art

and not some kind of aesthetic rule. It is the base: it is the laws governing the behavior on stage. It must be mastered. After that let creativity operate. A future painter may learn the foundations of perspective and composition but one cannot teach someone how to paint. The same applies to our work. That is why I shall not train my own replacement.

*If we take this as a pattern, it means that any successful theater collective is doomed, in the final account, to tragedy.*

That it true. Actually, it would be more accurate to say that it is doomed to the drama (sometimes protracted) of renovation. Here is an example.

At the very beginning of the war, a small company of what we now describe as first-magnitude "stars" in Soviet art was evacuated to Tbilisi. It was headed by Vladimir Ivanovich Nemirovich-Danchenko. It was joined by Tarkhanov and Kachalov from the MKHAT, and Klimov, from the Malyy Theater. At that time I was working at the Tbilisi Theater imeni A. S. Griboyedov and was teaching at the Theater Institute imeni Sh. Rustaveli. Once Nemirovich-Danchenko came to the institute to look at a student performance. He had a long talk with the members of the company, after which we met frequently. Those were difficult times, the autumn of 1942. The fascists had reached the Volga. There were those who panicked and fled to Baku and, from there, across the Caspian Sea, to Central Asia. Vladimir Ivanovich spoke of them scornfully. He was confident in our victory. He literally fired those around him with his optimism.

However, the moment the conversation would turn to his own MKHAT, he would become sad: "Yes, yes, we shall soon return and meet again with our comrades (the bulk of the company was in Kuybyshev). For several years we shall exist by inertia. After that, we shall begin to leave, one after the other. And the Artistic Theater will no longer be the Artistic Theater. Only the symbol on the curtains will remain. It will be terrible if no one notices this." These words were prophetic! He also said: "The theater belongs to a single generation. And until a new leader appears, with a new program consistent with the new times, until then there will be no 'Artistic Theater.'" That is what he said. I have never forgotten these words.

*The prediction concerning the mechanism of action of bureaucracy in theatrical affairs is quite accurate. There is a tendency to ignore any crisis or decline. K. Marx himself wrote that bureaucratism is based on deception and self-deception. Today, in my view, such a classical example is the fate of the Theater imeni Vakhtangov in Moscow.*

Yes, this splendid theater with brilliant performers has long been in a dead-end situation. In many long years nothing worthy of the standards of this famous company has been produced. Yet the Ministry of Culture of the

RSFSR has stubbornly supported it. Every 6 months we receive a document which shows the results of the work of the theaters under the jurisdiction of that ministry. Virtually every time the Vakhtangov people have been rated among the best. Anything mediocre was described as an artistic discovery. Yet it is precisely such "extolling" that leads to a change in criteria. Such self-deception has been going on for years!...

*In the case of the Vakhtangov it is important that the company itself objected to the falsehood of "success." By request of the collective the presentation which was being prepared for the party congress was stopped. This is very indicative. It indicates, above all, that very serious changes are taking place in the country's theatrical life. In short, democracy in action was displayed.*

Let us not flatter ourselves. To begin with, the way such democratization can be hindered was manifested just as clearly. Twin power was set in the theater: the appointed (or, rather, the unreplaced) chief director, and the elective artistic council, with the right to the decisive vote. Twin power in politics is a rather shaky system but in art it is even more so. Today the situation there has changed. Mikhail Ulyanov was elected artistic manager. Secondly, democracy in art has a different quality compared to that in industry.

*Several companies, however, have already elected their own artistic managers.*

Fewer have been appointed than invited from the outside. They had a choice. A majority vote cannot determine who is talented and who is not.

*Let me ask you bluntly: Are you against the democratization of the theater.*

I am "for" when it is a question of freeing art from the weight of bureaucratism. I am "for" when it is a question of extensive glasnost in the assessment of our work. I am "for" when we decide on the fate of the contemporary Soviet theater. That is why I was actively "for" the founding of a creative association of theater workers, whose efforts confirmed the specific nature of democracy in art. For that reason, I also have some quite substantial "against."

*Each one of your "against" should be based on your personal experience.*

Let us begin with choosing a manager. I am a strict person. I am not always delicate in rehearsals, for which reason I have opponents and, I believe, I should have opponents. A person without a strong will cannot become a serious director or, in general, a manager. Nature apparently did not endow me with a good character and perhaps I may not be liked by some people. In any secret vote they would rather vote against me. I am confident, however, that this would consist only of people whose work I do not like, actors who are not

particularly involved in the plays, and who have not accepted the artistic program we profess. In all likelihood, there will be such people.

Let us consider another case. A candidate manager comes to a theater in a state of crisis, in which the company finds artistic tranquillity perfectly suitable (such do exist), a person who would like to turn everything upside-down, to make radical changes and who demands, for this purpose, maximal stress and, occasionally, even self-sacrifice from the actors. Would he be unanimously supported?

As with any type of creative work, the principle of majority in art does not work. Had I observed this principle, a number of plays, which determined the fate of both me and my theater, would not have been staged. In its time I suggested that we stage "Philistines." There were many objections. Why, it was asked, should we stage Gorkiy's most boring play? The result turned out to be one of the most important and crucial performances for our theater.

Here is another example: Volodin's "Five Evenings." As we cast the characters, it was unquestionable that the female lead should be a beautiful and efficient woman. I, however, believed that she should be quite ordinary looking and chose precisely that type of actress, with no startling appearance and a hoarse voice. The result was one of the best performances given by Z. Sharko. Had I agreed with the majority, I would not have abandoned the stereotype. Art becomes art only when unusual and unexpected problems are set to audiences or readers. That is what makes so unique here a creative individuality which either goes beyond or rejects a traditional mentality or mental inertia.

The value and depth of the idea of an artist cannot be determined by majority vote. A theater company must voluntarily accept the "dictatorship" of the director. Such dictatorship must not be based on power or on the fact that he could expel someone but on real artistic reputation. In that sense I oppose democratization in the theater.

*Nonetheless, all such "againsts" do not exceed the framework of stage technology, artistic and creative as it is, with its doubts and revelations but nonetheless technologies involved in daily work.*

The way I understand it, what you want to say is this: Do we not occasionally interpret the process of democratization as applicable to the theater too broadly? Yes we do. Democratic hullabaloo sometimes fogs the brain. No one would think of holding a meeting on installing some piece in a tractor to be built in the future, or explain at a rural rally the type of wheat to be planted on a specific field. This is a matter for engineers and agronomists, i.e., specialists, who are responsible for their decisions to the people and to public opinion.

Meanwhile, heated battles are being fought on the subject of our work. Democracy does not free the individual from personal responsibility for his work. Personal responsibility cannot be replaced by public opinion, for this leads to anarchy. It seems to me that today theatrical life quite clearly demonstrates the realistic nature and danger of such a trend. The people of the theater are emotional and hot tempered, for which reason here all excesses of our tempestuous development today become quite exaggerated, sometimes reaching a point of obvious absurdity. Beginning ballet dancers are already trying to teach and rate the work of universally famous choreographers while members of the chorus try to define the artistic policy of an operatic theater by majority vote.

*M. S. Gorbachev noted in one of his interviews that the effectiveness of public opinion greatly depends on the extent to which it is competent and has reliable information. The process of democratization in the country is developing actively and, obviously, the time has come not only to surrender to emotions on this matter but also to submit to a serious analysis the developing social process.*

I am not a sociologist to be able to handle such matters seriously. But let us consider the following fact. The critics admit that the last theatrical season, which was marked by the beginning of active restructuring in our work was not, alas, noted by outstanding shows and its overall standard was lower than the previous season. Obviously there are many reasons for this but let me name just one. A great deal has been accomplished and the theater has been given great rights. The pressure exerted on us by bureaucrats in the arts, who did not always make much sense, eased up. Yet, as you may see, instead of incompetence from above there appeared a no less aggressive incompetence from below. In other words, as was said at the June Central Committee Plenum, today we are coming across situations in which some people do not hesitate to use the atmosphere of openness and glasnost not especially in the interest of restructuring.

*To sum up all of your "againsts," one should probably say that you oppose uncontrolled democracy.*

Yes, although I perfectly realize that spontaneity is inevitable, that it is natural at the start of the type of revolutionary changes we have undertaken to make. Not everything can be understood immediately. At one point Lenin described spontaneity as the embryonic form of consciousness.

The fact, however, is that a spontaneous thrust and an inner, and sometimes not entirely realized need assumes high social significance or, as Lenin wrote, "it is unquestionable that the spontaneity of a movement is a characteristic of the depth to which it has penetrated the masses, the strength of its roots and its ineradicability." I believe that the frequently exaggerated and heated democracy of today's theatrical life is of the same nature.

It shows the irreversibility of democratic change and the most profound need for it experienced by people in the arts and the entire nation. Such heat is triggered by the fact that all too long these needs were frustrated. In short, as in the past, once again in a Leninist fashion, consciousness must be introduced within spontaneity. In my view this is very relevant today.

*What does this truly mean?*

Democratization has already given an impetus to studio work in the theater. Incidentally, studios have always appeared spontaneously. We should neither fear nor, even less so, hinder this process. I look at the future of our art with optimism. The breaking of the blockade created by the crisis situation is possible, in my view, only if it comes from below. It is only by giving broad scope to creativity that potential talent can be brought to light. The conditions under which this thrust can be accelerated must be created from above.

After that, spontaneous creativity must be combined with a knowledgeable, a serious attitude toward the laws of the art of the stage and with respect and understanding for the specifics of one's profession. I believe that restructuring in the theater will yield results earlier than in other areas of our life.

*Why?*

Perhaps for the fact alone that as innovative directors appear, the individual collectives come out of the crisis quite rapidly. Usually, all that it takes is a single season. Suddenly theater halls, which had been empty for years or even decades, become crowded. Plays are staged for which tickets become unavailable. Naturally, it is important for the public to be drawn not by cheap performances but by true artistic value.

The real, profound and conscious (and not only meeting-oriented) democracy is the best nutritive environment for talent. However, this is a type of talent not dictated by accident but born of totally unrestricted social needs. Such a talent-generating period is beginning to appear in our country.

*What happens to the "dictatorship?"*

To begin with, it is voluntary in the theater; second, as I explained, it is a question of our stage technology, of our professional specifics. This equally applies to a plant director or a manager of scientific laboratory who also should be competent and authoritative people, and whose every single decision should not have to be approved by majority vote at a general meeting. Is this not so?

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### Attention to the Young Worker

18020003f Moscow *KOMMUNIST* in Russian No 15, Oct 87 (signed to press 5 Oct 87) p 53

[Letter to the editors by S. Tokhtabiyev, candidate of philosophical sciences, and G. Dyshekov, sociologist, Nalchik]

[Text] In our opinion, it is important to pay greater attention to recruiting young cadres for the collectives. While properly observing the customary methods, today we must also seek new ones.

The results of a number of studies have indicated that the sociopsychological adaptation of the young reinforcements is a major factor. Compared with other age groups, young people are distinguished by their great mobility and readiness to change jobs and even professions with no particular hesitation. Selective studies conducted by state statistical authorities indicate that the highest share of people who have been laid off on their own request or for violations of labor discipline is that of people under 30 (more than 50 percent in industry and more than 40 percent in construction). This is due to a variety of reasons, such as housing, dissatisfaction with labor conditions or profession, or working not in one's specialty, dissatisfaction with ordinary living conditions, youthful maximalism and curiosity. However, a great deal also depends on the position taken by the collective itself. Frequently organizational difficulties, the absence of clear prospects, and the indifference of the group develop in the novice the sad impression of a disparity between his concept and expectations and reality. It is regrettable that joining a collective by a young worker is frequently considered a private matter. The attitude is roughly the following: you may be having trouble but you will get used and we have no time to deal with you, we have our own work to do....

Clearly, a type of sociopsychological "bridge" is needed which must be crossed by the young, in the course of which they will become familiar with production and social life, and problems and informal relations within it. In our view, vocational guidance centers at large enterprises and associations and in residential microrayons (centered in the schools) could play such a role. They could not only help the young to select a profession and acquaint them with the production process but also bring the future reinforcements closer to young people who are already employed, with the help of joint sports competitions and recreational activities. In other words, such centers should combine the features of job placement bureaus and clubs. Some such experience has already been acquired at the youth automotive vehicles school in Nalchik.

The development of youth self-government in its traditional forms (Komsomol-youth brigades, young specialists' councils, hobby clubs) would also accelerate the sociopsychological adaptation to the collective. We believe that also in summing up results of the socialist

competition among brigades, sections and shops, we should take into consideration the extent to which the young workers have become part of the collective. This would increase the interest of labor collectives in working with young people and, in the final account, would ensure the latter's dynamic social development.

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### **On Cadre Departments**

18020003g Moscow *KOMMUNIST* in Russian No 15, Oct 87 (signed to press 5 Oct 87) pp 53-54

[Letter to the editors by B. Mirzoyev, Dagestan ASSR]

[Text] In my opinion, restructuring raises new requirements concerning an important unit in production life, such as the cadre departments. Their personnel could greatly contribute to the stabilization of labor collectives, the optimal placement of the people and the elimination of conflict situations as they appear.

As we know, a number of cases of illegal dismissals have been tried in court. Many of them have ended with a verdict of rehiring the person. This is not only because in frequent cases the administration is wrong or the trade unions remain passive; in my view, this is also the result of the poor legal knowledge shown by cadre services. As a rule, they are staffed by honest, conscientious and principle-minded people. Today, however, these qualities are insufficient. Let us point out that this profession does not enjoy any particular social prestige and specialists with legal, psychological and sociological knowledge are unwilling to do such work. Naturally, there is a shortage of lawyers virtually everywhere although in the period of restructuring the need for jurists will become even greater. Nonetheless, we believe that it is particularly important to be concerned with staffing the cadre departments with educated, energetic and socially active personnel, which would make this service truly consistent with its purpose.

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### **A New Life for Outmoded Equipment**

18020003h Moscow *KOMMUNIST* in Russian No 15, Oct 87 (signed to press 5 Oct 87) p 54

[Letter to the editors by B. Shapurov, radio industry engineer, Vitebsk]

[Text] In my opinion, the assertion of the autonomy of enterprises, the development of individual labor activity and the organization of production cooperatives make it necessary to take a new look at the existing practice of

writing off worn out and, in frequent cases simply morally obsolete yet fully functional industrial equipment. In frequent cases, it seems to me, there is a hurry to remove such equipment and send it directly to the scrap metal dump. Naturally, this is not only because of the existence of a plan for the delivery of scrap metal. Such equipment, however, is quite difficult to obtain even by people who are interested in having it.

The law of individual labor activity allows private individuals and cooperative associations to purchase surplus and unused materials and other property from enterprises and establishments. However, the procedure and cases in which this is possible have remained unclear. As was the case in the past, it is much simpler to ship out unnecessary equipment as scrap metal. Clearly, we should consider the creation of a system of economic incentives which would help to regulate the processes through which such a substantial part of production assets could be released and reused. It may be expedient to abandon the strict plans for scrap metal deliveries. The enterprise itself should decide what equipment and in what amount it could deliver to Vtorchermet and what equipment could be sold freely, including some of it for cash. Within a sensible limit, the price could exceed the value of scrap metal, which would increase the interest of enterprises in finding possible purchasers.

It would make sense to set up specialized intermediary units which would be in charge of the resale of such equipment, provide regular information on supply and demand on this market. All of this, we believe, would substantially extend the service life of many types of equipment.

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### **Quality of the Plan and Material Responsibility**

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[Letter to the editors by V. Mazur, candidate of economic sciences, honored higher school worker of the BSSR]

[Text] In my opinion we must improve the existing procedure for paying the salaries of the planning personnel in ministries and departments. A great deal has been justly said about their party and administrative responsibility for errors and omissions and lack of flexibility and efficiency. Should we not directly relate the quality of plans to material responsibility? I believe that this should be done. In some cases the work of an enterprise or sector is severely disturbed because of unbalanced plans or hasty changes. However, this hardly affects the salaries of administrative personnel.

Here is an example: in the first year of the current 5-year period alone the plan for capital construction was beyond the possibilities of the Belorussian timber, cellulose-paper and timber processing, and light, local and fuel industries; the situation in this area is not substantially better in the Ukraine, the Far East, Siberia, the Transcaucasus, or the republics of Central Asia. As a whole, the national contracting work plan was not fulfilled. This was due to numerous reasons, not the least among which is the fact that construction workers were not supplied with sufficient materials. The saddest part of all is that this lack of supplies is frequently part of the plans. As a rule the contemplated amounts of construction work are not adequately provided for in the plans for material and technical procurements.

Unquestionably, the quality, balance and extent of scientific substantiation of plans depend on the subjective factor as well. Such disparities, I am certain, are the result of lack of necessary responsibility, material responsibility included, on the part of the planning personnel.

In such cases, if a clearly unrealistic plan, which is actually doomed to failure, causes direct harm to the interests of the specific enterprise and the national economy as a whole and leads to the failure of assignments, the consequences of this act should also seriously affect the personnel of the respective ministries and planning authorities. Such consequences should not be limited to depriving them of their bonuses. Their basic salary should be attached as well, to the extent to which the state order was not met (under the old system, the planned assignment).

For example, if plans for the volume of output and material and technical procurements are not coordinated, those who formulated and approved them should be the first to pay for the resulting damage (out of their own income). The ruble should not be used for rewards alone. For the time being, we are more familiar with incentives with the sign "plus." We also need a "minus" sign, for without it no management reform can be highly effective, and cost accounting, which must be applied to the entire economy, from top to bottom, would prove to be inefficient.

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#### **The Authority of the Word**

18020003j Moscow *KOMMUNIST* in Russian No 15, Oct 87 (signed to press 5 Oct 87) p 55

[Letter to the editors by Ye. Nozhin, doctor of philological sciences, professor, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences]

[Text] In my opinion the ability of managers on all levels freely and honestly to talk to people plays a major role in the enhancement of the human factor. It is no secret that

some administrators, who are resourceful and efficient in their offices, literally lose the gift of speech when meeting with workers at a machine tool or a mechanizer in the field. They are unable to answer questions or convince doubters. We still hear complaints of boring reports and official speeches, in which the convincing nature of arguments and an intimate tone of voice are replaced by cheerless sermonizing and boring cliches.

It was noted along time ago that people react to social change through lively verbal statements. Everywhere today—at meetings, conferences, plenums, lectures and debates—an open and honest discussion is expected above all. Reality has proved that understanding the need for glasnost does not in itself mean the ability to act in accordance with this principle. Unquestionably, we need a decisive inner change, the rejection of the "self-censorship" which operate in our subconscious and the ability to speak without looking behind one's back and to object without fearing of spoiling relations. It is important to learn how to look the truth in the face. Specific and open analysis, in the course of which the speaker no longer tries to tell "everyone about everything" but concentrates on main and unsolved problems is the leading logical mechanism in thinking and a convincing argument under circumstances of expanding democracy.

Naturally, the old habit of keeping one's skeleton in the closet and the tendency to stick to the "golden middle" in speeches is extremely difficult to surmount. However, whereas in the past many people were satisfied with the appearance of success, today no one can avoid the open and thoughtful analysis or an answer to questions, such as why, for what reason and how? What matters is the real benefit of the party's word, the word of the leader and his contribution to restructuring the people's awareness.

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#### **Taking VUZ Specialization Into Account**

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[Letter to the editors by I. Punanov, professor, department of political economy, Moscow State Culture Institute]

[Text] In my opinion, it is important to consider the creation of special programs for the course in political economy and prepare the proper training and method publications for VUZs in the nonproduction area. It is particularly clear today that the most severe shortcoming in teaching the social sciences is the alienation of theory from practice and from the specific problems of this sector which will inevitably be encountered by yesterday's students in the course of their work.

For the time being, judging by numerous publications and statements by my colleagues—political economy teachers—concern for developing a new style of economic thinking is manifested essentially in terms of workers in industry, agriculture and other material production areas. One rarely hears of economic training of cadres working in the spiritual area or, shall we say, medicine. However, restructuring will not bypass these most important sectors. They too have their own economic problems, the development of which is no less significant or simpler than those of industry, transportation or agriculture.

Allow me to discuss an area with which I am most familiar. The economic thinking of personnel in cultural and art institutions takes shape above all in higher educational establishments and in political economy courses. As a rule, clubs, houses of culture, libraries, theaters and concert halls are managed by culture institute graduates. I do not believe that it is possible to limit teaching our students only to the foundations of general economic theory without taking sectorial specifics into consideration. Yet for the time being the current course curriculum can provide nothing else. The single "specific" sentence in this course is the following: "Nonproduction sphere in the national economy and its development." The program itself is aimed at technical VUZs and, furthermore, it has been somewhat abridged.

Is it surprising, therefore, that the students we train consider the science of economics as being remote from practice, and as dry and abstract theory. Yet the real usefulness of our classes and interest in them could increase substantially if the teacher, drawing on specially drafted curriculums and aids, can discuss in detail the work of the specific sector. The development of culture includes a number of economic problems. Following are some I consider as the most important: economics and planning the activities of cultural institutions; their place within the system of satisfying the needs of society and improving the living standard of the working people; specifics of cost accounting, material incentive and characteristics of commodity-monetary relations in culture. Some teachers, naturally, try to cover such problems in their lectures and seminars. We believe, however, that a clear concept of the economic specifics of the sector should become part of the mandatory minimum of knowledge we impart to our students.

Let me reemphasize that we need curriculums and training aids which will take into consideration the specialization of the VUZs and will cover in detail topical problems of nonproduction sectors. Obviously, the drafting of such materials should be coordinated by the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education.

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## The October Revolution and the Revolution in Vietnam

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[Article by Nguyen Van Lin, general secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee. Article printed simultaneously in *Tap Ti Kong Shan*, theoretical and political organ of the VCP]

[Text] The October Revolution is an outstanding event in the history of mankind. Starting with October 1917, socialism became a vital reality in a single country and, subsequently, after the defeat of fascism, a powerful global system which changed the appearance of our planet. The revolutionary changes which took place in 70 years in the Soviet Union and the rest of the world are the result of the legitimate processes the beginning of which was laid by the October Revolution.

The light of the October Revolution, traveling through endless space, penetrated all corners of the globe, illuminating the way to the liberation of the working class and the peoples of the world. Thanks to it, in the course of 57 years the Vietnamese revolution has been winning victory after victory and has forged ahead confidently.

At the turn of the 20th century, when the patriotic movement in Vietnam was in a state of deep crisis, unable to formulate its own further program, and while patriots among the bourgeois democrats, people such as Phan Boy Tyau and Phan Thiu Chin, took the wrong way, the ideas of the October Revolution reached our country. Comrade Ho Chi Minh who was then in France became acquainted with V. I. Lenin's work "Initial Sketch of Theses on the National and Colonial Problem," and was the first Vietnamese to understand the simple truth that "no way other than a proletarian revolution exists in rescuing the country and liberating the people" (*Ho Chi Minh* "Always Follow the Path of the Great Lenin." Shithat Publishers, Hanoi, 1970, p 51). It was since then that the theory of Marxism-Leninism began to spread in Vietnam. It led the worker and patriotic movements to the founding of the Vietnamese Communist Party and provided opportunities for the Vietnamese revolution and for revolutions in all three countries in Indochina.

The establishment of the Vietnamese Communist Party in 1930, and the subsequent expansion of the revolutionary movement predetermined the victory of the August 1945 revolution and the founding of the first state of workers and peasants in Southeast Asia. Subsequent to this event, the struggle of resistance to French imperialism completed in 1954 the national-democratic revolution in the north, and the victory in the war against U.S. imperialism concluded in 1975 the process of reunification of the homeland. Since then the now united country has been converting to socialism. These are the major landmarks of the Vietnamese revolution, which became



the great follower of the cause of the October Revolution. The people of Vietnam are very proud of the fact that they became part of the cohort of nations who scored significant revolutionary successes and continue to carry high the banner of the October Revolution.

*The October Revolution is a brilliant model of creatively renovated thinking.* K. Marx and F. Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, developed their teaching in the 19th century, on the basis of practice and theory—on the achievements of mankind at that historical stage. At the beginning of the 20th century, however, the situation had changed greatly: capitalism had grown into imperialism. Revolutionary forces and movements as well had developed further. Under these new circumstances, based on Marx's materialistic theory as the methodology for creative analysis, V. I. Lenin studied the new phenomena in capitalism and formulated the doctrine of imperialism. He developed and improved Marx's theory of the proletarian revolution and substantiated the historical victory of the October Revolution.

V. I. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party made an outstanding contribution to creative dialectical thinking, the theory and practice of social progress and the practical application of new approaches, and a new style of thinking by developing and applying the new economic policy after the end of the blood-shedding civil war, with a view to solving the profound economic and political crisis and formulating an expanded plan for building socialism in the USSR.

*The 27th CPSU Congress adopted and raised high the Leninist spirit of renovation and creativity, the October Revolution.* Based on contemporary objective reality and the specific situation in the country and in the world, it creatively developed Marxist-Leninist theory in all most important areas, opening the way to further progress by society in the age of socialism, and helping us better to understand this age with its objective laws and the present and future course of socialism.

The 27th CPSU Congress and the January and June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenums display and stimulate the renovation of theoretical thinking. The CPSU severely criticized scholasticism, which had let theory fall behind life.

The CPSU considers lagging in the theoretical area a profound reason for the difficulties which appeared, for the stagnation and other phenomena in the socioeconomic area, alien to socialism. At the present time the Soviet Union is facing a crucial problem—the conversion of Soviet society to a qualitatively new level of development. The scale and complexity of this task demand a deep reinterpretation of the entire set of knowledge in the areas of philosophy, socialist political economy and scientific communism. The key aspect in this reinterpretation and in the study of the trends of the development of the age and Soviet society is the application of the dialectical method, the nucleus of which, as

V. I. Lenin taught, was and remains the unity and struggle of opposites. In analyzing reality, we must clearly realize that internal contradictions are the source and motive force of development of everything extant. This applies to socialist society as well.

The study of the ways and means of efficiently solving new problems is based on the study of contradictions in life. We must creatively enrich and concretize the principles and theoretical concepts of Marxism-Leninism. Theory must not end with explaining elementary truths or use ready-made prescriptions. In order constantly to retain its vanguard role, to formulate the right course and to stimulate social progress, theory must engage in a daily tireless search for answers to the questions raised by life.

Some of the most impressive successes achieved by the CPSU in the area of renovating theoretical thinking include, above all, its new concepts on the crucial nature of the current historical stage in the development of the world and Soviet society; the dialectics of our age, its trends and contradictions; the motive forces of social progress, the acceleration of socioeconomic development of Soviet society as an objective law of socialism; and the dialectics of transition to communism. All such concepts are an answer to the challenge of our age and approaches to solving the topical problems of Soviet society and the entire socialist community.

The new style of thinking and orientation toward new values have been embodied most fully in the reinterpretation and critical analysis of the situation within the country. They are distinguished by their substantiation and truthfulness, the lack of excessive emphasis, reservations and exaggerations, and total openness. The renovation has also been manifested in the strategy of acceleration, the fuller development of the advantages of socialism and the formulation of political, economic, social, spiritual and moral priorities. Priority in the renovated system of values is given to the human factor. The comprehensive and harmonious development of the individual is the main objective in building socialism. All of this exhaustively characterizes the advancement of socialist society. The process of restructuring, based on the programmatic stipulations of the 27th CPSU Congress, is a decisive factor in the qualitatively new stage of development in Soviet society, above all in economics. That is why it is of major historical significance. *The restructuring taking place in the Soviet Union is a comprehensive and radical revolutionary process.* The experience in renovation in the Soviet Union, which is justified in all respects is, to one extent or another, of unquestionable theoretical and practical value to socialism. In terms of its nature and scale, the entirely new project of restructuring is having a profound impact on the global revolutionary process. The revolutionary nature of the program of acceleration, aimed at leading Soviet society to a qualitatively new status, will influence the situation

in the world and the solution of the basic contradictions of our age. To one extent or another restructuring will influence the situation in many other countries.

*The most profound renovation of consciousness, which is taking place in the CPSU, is manifested most clearly in the enrichment of the Leninist concept of the age, the identification of its main problems and the determination of the cause-and-effect connection and interdependence of factors which determine the nature of the age. Once again, on the basis of class and scientific positions, the CPSU has analyzed the contradictions of our time and the trends leading to their solution; the historical role of socialism, its successes, advantages and future; international relations and the possibility of counteracting the threat of nuclear war which is a direct menace to mankind.*

The contemporary world has entered a new stage of development. The qualitative leap in production forces and the mushrooming advance of the scientific and technical revolution offer tremendous opportunities to man for either creative or destructive purposes. At the same time, on the political level, today's world is becoming increasingly complex, varied and dynamic, encompassing a variety of contradictions and conflicting trends.

These worldwide features force man to take a new look at the global situation. Once again, it is precisely Lenin's party that has formulated a new approach to solving the problem of war and peace. The new foreign policy thinking, theoretically and practically substantiated, is consistent with the expectations of billions of people, for which reason it is a program enjoying the broadest possible support and meeting with the strongest possible response in the hearts of the people. Along with the steadily growing reputation of the Soviet Union, socialism is hoisting higher and higher over the earth the banner of peace.

*Inspired by the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the restructuring in the Soviet Union, at its Sixth Congress, in a spirit of renovation and in a critical style inherent in Marxist philosophy, the VCP looked the truth in the face. It analyzed profoundly and comprehensively the situation in the country, accurately assessed the condition of society, drew serious lessons from positive and negative experience and earmarked the strategic objectives of the transitional period and the tasks and targets of its initial stage.*

The concepts which were formulated strengthened the party's resolve to engage in a comprehensive renovation in all areas of our social life in order to achieve a radical upturn, change the situation in the country and, surmounting difficulties, confidently advance toward socialism. The resolve to renovate displayed by the VCP

is consistent with the vital requirements of the Vietnamese revolution and the fast and powerful renovation occurring in the world. It marks a turning point in the Vietnamese revolution, which opens broad prospects to our country.

Practical experience indicates that before renovating any area of social life necessary theoretical preparations must be made. The depth of theoretical preparations will determine the success of renovation. Renovation must be based on awareness of the realities, of the specific historical situation in which our country presently finds itself. It is only thus that accurate solutions, consistent with the level reached by Vietnam and the trends of global development, can be found. Conditions in a country such as Vietnam, which has not experienced the capitalist system, are indeed specific and variable. Taking them into consideration, and relying on basic stipulations, we must update theoretical thinking and, on this basis, define our policy and earmark steps consistent with the requirements of reality. After testing and trying it extensively, the new style of theoretical thinking will be established and become part of reality and a daily manual for action for the broad masses. This is a natural process which must be followed in any major party and government decision.

*Our party's Sixth Congress provided a more profound understanding of the socioeconomic characteristics of our country, on the basis of which the nature of the difficult, complex and lengthy transitional period in Vietnam was defined.*

Vietnam's main characteristic is that it had no large-scale capitalist production and that it is currently developing on the basis of petty-commodity output. Furthermore, it has experienced 30 years of a hard and destructive war and is marked by numerous disproportions. The congress classified the current Vietnamese economy as mixed. These specific features urgently dictate to us our tasks, nature and aspects of the various stages in the socialist revolution in Vietnam. We allowed subjectivism, errors and haste essentially because we ignored and did not make a profound study of said characteristics.

On the basis of Lenin's theory, we should acknowledge that in our country the transitional period should consist of several stages each one of which will have to solve a variety of specific problems. The main problem of the present initial stage is the stabilization of the socioeconomic situation as a whole and the creation of the necessary prerequisites for large-scale industrialization during the next stage.

The transitional period in Vietnam is part of the historical essence of our age, which is a conversion from capitalism to socialism on a global scale. Its start was proclaimed by the October Revolution.

Our time has two most important factors which have a profound and direct influence on the building of socialism in our country.

*First:* The unparalleled power of the forces of socialism in the world, the pivot of which is the Soviet Union and the socialist community, which, in the final account, determine the line of development of human society.

*Second* is the new wave of the scientific and technical revolution in the world, which started in the mid-1970s. It is having a strong influence on the economy of the developing countries as well. Under the conditions of an unparalleled growth of economic and technical relations among countries, the development of any individual country, although it may have reached a high standard, depends on its possibility and ability to participate in international economic relations. These factors are having a profound influence on our country's domestic and foreign policy, economics and politics.

The VCP considers that in economics the new style of thinking should follow the path of a proper formulation of an economic and social policy aimed at upgrading the role of the initiative and creativity of the working people, the emancipation of production forces, the all-round utilization of the country's potential, and the broadening of international economic cooperation, above all with the Soviet Union and the members of the world socialist community, in order to develop the production process and all social life.

Parallel to the reorganization of the economic structure, aimed at the implementation of three major economic programs (solving the food problem, increasing the production of consumer goods, and work for export), we must renovate the economic management mechanism, firmly abandon the centralized-bureaucratic subsidy-based management system, and eliminate the obstruction mechanism by gradually applying the principles of socialist cost accounting while retaining the primacy of planning and relying on the principles of democratic centralism. The new mechanism will ascribe great importance to planning and commodity-monetary relations. These two characteristic features do not conflict with each other. Being organically related, they are prerequisites and conditions for coexistence and contribute to upgrading the efficiency of the economic mechanism.

As to the role which the VCP must play, the Sixth Congress emphasized that the tremendous scale and complexity of the all-round socioeconomic renovation of the country require the steady strengthening of the party's leading role and combativeness. A scientific concretized definition must be given to the leading role of the ruling party in terms of its relations with the state and the public organizations in economics, politics, law, culture and the social areas and its relations with the masses, consolidating such role legislatively. It is also

necessary to perfect democratic centralism, systematically to promote the democratization of social life, to struggle for criticism and self-criticism within the party and to mold the character and quality of its membership, bearing in mind that it is the ruling party in Vietnam.

The successful renovation of society will require a major change in the organizational and cadre structure of management. "Cadres decide everything." This slogan, which was proclaimed in the past in the Soviet Union, is today of tremendous guiding importance to us. Organizational and cadre renovation are key links and most important aspects in revolutionary renovation on the scale of our entire country.

Practical experience indicates that organizational and cadre work is a very complex and difficult form of activity. It is an entire science. Furthermore, it is a most difficult science, a science of man. However, although we emphasize its difficulty, we do not consider ourselves helpless. The task of mastering this science can be implemented if we practice the right extensive, democratic and open style in work with cadres. We must change our approach to the assessment of cadres and the criteria we apply, in order to rate cadre workers today on the basis of the real efficiency with which they implement their assignments. It is precisely this that will indicate a true renovation in the way of thinking and method of activities and their consistency with the requirements of the overall revolutionary restructuring. The most vital problem today and, at the same time, the weakest link in work with cadres is the problem of planning, training and upgrading cadre skills, including those of leading and managerial personnel on all levels and in all sectors, professions and specialized fields. We have rich resources of cadres, tempered in two wars of resistance and in the building of socialism. They must be properly deployed and skillfully used. Planning and the creation of a system for efficient selection are the main features in work with cadres.

One of the practical embodiments and a confirmation of the party's resolve to follow the path of renovation is the widespread movement for the purity of party ranks and for upgrading the party's combativeness, which was started in 1987; it is a movement for cleansing the state agencies and increasing the efficiency of their administrative activities and for reducing and eliminating negative phenomena and improving social relations and social justice. Several months ago, the newspaper *Nan Than* started to publish articles in the section "Urgent Matters," and the active struggle against negative phenomena, which was initiated in this aspect won the hearts of tens of millions of people, offering them a future and creating favorable conditions for the development of a mass movement for radically improving their working and living conditions.

*Total unity of views on the key problems of domestic and international policy exists between the VCP and the CPSU. This was manifested in the course of the visit of a*

*high-level VCP delegation to the USSR from 17 to 22 May 1987, the major and positive results of which were codified in a joint declaration, agreements and accords which marked a qualitatively new and important stage in the development of comprehensive Vietnamese-Soviet cooperation.*

This stage in Vietnamese-Soviet cooperation, above all in the economic area, is consistent with the requirements of restructuring and renovation formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress and the Sixth VCP Congress and are consistent with the needs of our time.

The CPSU leadership expressed its confidence that the Sixth VCP Congress will be a turning point and will lead Vietnam to all-round development. The CPSU not only highly rates and supports the resolutions of the Sixth VCP Congress but also makes its contribution to the implementation of the realistic and true course of renovation formulated by our congress. As seen by the VCP, Vietnamese-Soviet cooperation and Soviet aid are the foundations of the foreign economic strategy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and a major factor in building socialism in our country.

We must emphasize that in order to achieve the objectives of the present stage, the Vietnamese people and cadre workers must dedicate exceptionally great efforts. Foreign economic cooperation and the principle of socialist cost accounting are aimed at combining responsibility with mutual benefit. That is why we must decisively eliminate the dependent and irresponsible way of thinking which is still to the liking of a high percentage of our cadre personnel and even of the population. We must strictly criticize and efficiently eliminate manifestations of irresponsibility and arbitrariness in the implementation of agreements. We must struggle against waste and the inefficient utilization of raw and other materials, equipment, machine tools and projects built with the help of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. We must efficiently study and restructure all areas of our cooperation in a new spirit.

The VCP and CPSU are entirely united in the decisive struggle for the conversion of the Asian-Pacific area into a zone of peace, stability, good neighborly relations, confidence and reciprocal understanding, in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Vietnam is one of the countries on the Pacific rim, for which reason all events taking place in that area influence life in our country as well. The Vietnamese people profoundly share the concern and indignation of the peoples of the area caused by the intrigues of American imperialism and its reactionary stooges, actions which hinder the establishment of a lasting peace and stability in this large and heavily populated region.

Today, as in the past, reactionary political thinking, aspirations to world domination, combined with a policy of violence and arms race, are the nucleus of the Asian-Pacific doctrine of U.S. imperialism. Its essence is to combine the forces of the traditional American allies and the new U.S. supporters in the area for the purpose of implementing expansionistic and aggressive plans.

Starting with the mid-1970s, however, opportunities and prerequisites have appeared in the Asian-Pacific area for the creation of a broad system of security and cooperation as a result of the qualitatively new development of the international "post-Vietnam" situation and the unprecedented increase in the power of socialism and of peace-loving forces.

Under these circumstances, the VCP believes that all forces which aspire to independence, democracy and social progress must be organized within a single powerful movement of the struggle for peace, security, development and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific area (ATR). A comprehensive approach must be adopted to solving the problems, which would benefit from the support of popular movements (and governmental policies) for a nuclear-free world, the political solution of all disputes and conflicts, respect for the right of nations to self-determination, establishing relations of good neighborhood and peaceful coexistence and undertaking active efforts to make the ATR a zone of peace and stability.

The Soviet Union and socialist countries in Asia, such as Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia and Afghanistan have formulated peace initiatives aimed at solving regional problems. A number of countries in the South Pacific area have formulated suggestions on converting that region into a nuclear-free zone. Let us particularly note the plan for all-embracing peace in the ATR, formulated by Comrade Gorbachev in Vladivostok, the New Delhi declaration on the principles for creating a nuclear-free world, and the results of the consultative meeting of representatives of communist and revolutionary democratic parties of countries in the Asian-Pacific area (Ulan Bator, 7-9 July 1987), at which ways to create in the area a nuclear-free zone and a zone of peace were discussed, and the declaration by the Soviet Union of its readiness to destroy all Soviet medium-range missiles in the Asian part of the USSR as well, should the United States reciprocate. These initiatives met with extensive approval and support the world over.

We are hoping for the fastest possible and just political settlement of the "Cambodian problem" on the basis of securing a lasting peace, independence and sovereignty of Cambodia and preserving the revolutionary gains of the Cambodian people. This is an important factor which will contribute to establishing peace and stability in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the Asian-Pacific area.

Like the USSR, Vietnam firmly supports a course of normalizing relations with the PRC, considering this a necessary prerequisite for achieving stability in the area.

The October Revolution, restructuring in the USSR and the revolution and renovation in Vietnam are links in a single chain. They are the manifestation of relations of cause and effect and of the objective process of the progress of mankind along a single main direction: the happiness of the peoples, socialism and lasting peace on earth. The celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution is the greatest event for all progressive mankind this decade. "When you drink water remember its source." We keep repeating this saying, recalling the tremendous service rendered by the October Revolution and the Soviet Union to the Vietnamese revolution and Vietnamese people.

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### October in the Destinies of Nations

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[Text] The current sociopolitical aspect of the world is the legitimate result of the historical process which started with the October Revolution in Russia. The restructuring and accelerated and social and economic development which are taking place in the homeland of the October Revolution have generated tremendous interest in communist and progressive international circles. They characterize the changes taking place in the USSR as a turn of a revolutionary nature, which has a powerful influence on the situation throughout the world and the conditions of the struggle waged by democratic and peace-loving forces.

The editors of *Kommunist* appealed to a number of noted personalities of communist and worker parties, who participated in the international theoretical symposium on "The Great October and the Crucial Problems of Our Age," which was held in Prague, and the following answered the questions asked by journal correspondent V. Bushuyev: Ib Norlund, Executive Committee member and secretary of the Danish Communist Party Central Committee; Rafiq Samhoun, member of the Lebanese Communist Party Central Committee Politburo; Naim Ashkhab, member of the Palestinian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo; Jaime Barrios, member of the Salvadoran Communist Party Central Committee; Jose Lava, member of the Philippine Communist Party Central Committee Politburo; and Orlando Millas, member of the Political Commission of the Chilean Communist Party Central Committee Political Commission.

*Question. It frequently happens that a single human destiny may reflect the fate of an entire generation, with all of its problems and difficulties, sadness and joys. The great, the crucial moments of historical development powerfully rush into the ordinary course of life, giving it an entirely new direction. How was your own revolutionary choice and the decision to join in the struggle waged by the communists influenced by your exposure to the ideas of the October Revolution and the practice of building socialism in the land of the soviets?*

**I. Norlund.** Our generation is the one which was born in 1917 and grew up together with the Great October Revolution. My involvement in political life began under the influence of the deep crisis which hit the capitalist countries at the beginning of the 1930s, the social upheavals of that time and the activation of the forces of fascism.

The young were ready to accept new ideas. It was difficult for us to tolerate a society which deprived masses of people of work, dooming them to poverty and privation and, frequently, in order to prevent any drop in prices, destroyed food products. All of this entered the spiritual life of the growing generation in school. To us, the young, the future looked bleak.

Then we found out about revolutionary Russia which, as a result of the tremendous efforts of the working people, had put an end to the capitalist past and taken the path of building an entirely new society unparalleled in history, a society without exploiters, without hunger and oppression and without the alienation of man. It had eliminated unemployment, made social and cultural changes and built new plants, and enthusiasm prevailed in that country. All of this shook us up and made us think.

The Soviet people and we were marching in the same ranks. Such was our main conclusion. Naturally, it was not because we thought that everything that was taking place in the Soviet Union was ideal, without shortcomings or errors, for this was simply impossible in the practices of real life and, furthermore, in a totally new undertaking, such as building a new, a socialist society. What mattered to us was that the path followed by the USSR was leading forward. No one could force us to deviate from the path which the working class in the land of the soviets had chosen.

The hard times which came soon after that confirmed the accuracy of our choice. Fascism was rapidly gathering strength. This impressed the weak, including also people in Denmark.

In a disintegrating world, the ideas and the cause of the Great October Revolution took up the defense of the future firmly and confidently. The signal to join the antifascist struggle was given. We felt the increased danger of a new horrible catastrophe and believed that

we had to do everything possible to prevent it. It was this which motivated me to join the youth communist movement in 1934 and, 1 year later, the Communist Party.

At that time we were unable to succeed in the struggle against the threat of war. However, in our efforts to prevent it we strengthened the party ideologically and organizationally, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and launched extensive work among the masses.

Today we face new tasks which are as important as the old. This time, however, we have no right to fail in the struggle for peace and a happy future.

**R. Samhoon.** I was still very young when a relative of mine, a communist who was hiding from the police in my father's home, told me and my brothers about Lenin, the October Revolution and its achievements, and the situation of children, women and different peoples in the Soviet Union. This was more like a fairy tale, compared with our own lives, and it enthused us.

Later, when Hitler's army, which invaded Soviet soil, began to retreat, I heard about the victories of the Red Army and its heroism in the struggle against fascism, the source of strength of the Soviet Union and the importance of its victories to the proletariat, the peasantry and the oppressed colonial peoples, including the people of Lebanon. All of this left ineradicable traces in my mind and heart. In as much as was possible, I tried to learn more about the first socialist country. Information about it was available in some clandestine newspapers and leaflets. Later, when I turned 17, I began to study writings on Marxist-Leninist theory and the history of the Bolshevik Party. All of this, as well as direct exposure to the struggle waged by the Communist Party, at that time the Syrian and Lebanese Communist Party, explains my motivation to join its ranks in 1952. To this day I am proud of this decision.

**N. Ashkhab.** The reasons which lead a revolutionary fighter on the path of communism today are several. First, it is the national reason, for the fighter is a representative of his people, who are victims of aggression and foreign oppression. Second, it is the class reason, for he is the offspring of an oppressed and exploited class. Third is the scientific reason, for the fighter who has been exposed to the theoretical treasury of Marxism-Leninism and studied the laws of development of history and society, is unwilling to remain idle in the face of such development or to support a historically obsolete model.

I was an adolescent with the Hitlerites attacked the Soviet Union. The heroism of the Soviet people, displayed in defending their socialist homeland, fired up my enthusiasm and was most consistent with my national feelings of hatred of the British occupation of Palestine and the repressive measures taken by the occupiers toward my people. At the same time, I gradually began to understand the social aspect of the October

Revolution, inseparably related to the nature of the heroic exploits performed by the sons of the land of the soviets. As the offspring of a poor family, I was exposed to privation. Thus, it was this aspect of the October Revolution as well, as a revolution aimed against social oppression and poverty, that also led me to adopt a communist ideology. My acceptance of the ideas of communism was organically related to following the development of events in the homeland of the October Revolution. Subsequently we, young communists, always tried solemnly to celebrate every anniversary of the October Revolution, whether in the harsh conditions of clandestine work or in the jails of Jordan and, subsequently, Israel.

**J. Barrios.** I have always found it embarrassing to speak about myself. All I can say is that I am a rank-and-file soldier of the revolution and that I consider my affiliation with the Communist Party the greatest honor which I could achieve in life. Like thousands of my fellow fighters, I was inspired since my adolescence by the example of the Russian bolsheviks, who were the first to show how one must fight for the happiness of the people and the triumph of the ideals of freedom and social justice.

My father, who was a railroad worker, experienced upon himself the entire hardship of exploitation. My mother worked at home, doing her best to cope with the hardships of hopeless poverty. Until the age of 10 I had never worn a pair of shoes but had known hunger from an early age. These were difficult times, when our country was suffering from the global economic crisis. I will never forget the lesson of the worker-peasant uprising which broke out in El Salvador in 1932. My father told me of the atrocities committed by the reaction, which he condemned angrily. My mother helplessly mourned over the barbaric reprisals, as a result of which 30,000 people had died. Turning to us, his children, my father summed it up as follows: "This can no longer go on and you must help make a change for the good of the people." The seed of the people's expectations was planted in our minds.

I persistently sought the right road and, finally, almost 37 years ago I joined the Salvadoran Communist Party, a party which is applying the scientific methodology of Marxism-Leninism under the specific conditions of our country and making use of the experience of the heroes of the Great October Revolution and the pioneers of socialism. I believe that my contribution to the common struggle has been very small. But then rain is made of drops of water which form streams which later become big rivers. My modest contribution is one such drop.

**J. Lava.** My comrades and friends, like myself, became communists because we sharply felt the suffering of the people, the suffering of the homeland which was under the heel of local and foreign oppressors. A certain role in this was also played by the traditions of the national liberation movement in the Philippines, traditions in which were raised the children in our family. It was

precisely in the family that we developed feelings of love for the homeland, compassion with the poor and the oppressed, thirst for justice and aspiration to gain knowledge and truth. We were taught self-discipline and persistence. Subsequently, we saw the embodiment of everything that was most lofty and selfless in the October Revolution in the accomplishments of the Soviet people who assumed on themselves the most difficult mission of being the first to build a new life in their country. It was this that determined our choice.

Readiness to withstand trials and faith in the ideals with which I joined the Communist Party in 1937 helped me to withstand the burdens of the life of a clandestine communist and get used to the idea of being in danger of losing my life. Such was the case during the harsh years of struggle against the Japanese occupation and in the course of the armed struggle for liberation from American neocolonialism. It was this that helped me to withstand the hardships of an uninterrupted 20 years of prison, from October 1950 to January 1970.

Based on false accusations, the servants of the reactionary pro-American regime sentenced six of our comrades to death and some communists, including myself, to life in prison. We spent years on death row and were the victims of all kinds of excesses, including experiments involving the use of psychedelic drugs. The jailers mounted provocations, in an effort to undermine our faith in socialism. They gave us to read anticommunist forgeries and speculated on the difficult times in the development of the international communist movement and the Soviet Union. However, they were unable to crush our spirit or undermine our faith in the homeland of the October Revolution. Another thing which helped us to preserve our militant spirit and faith in the final liberation was the fact that for the entire 20 years which we spent in jail, in accordance with our specific conditions we were able to do party work, to organize party training and to celebrate the October Revolution anniversaries.

Toward the end of the 1960s the Philippine and international public mounted a broad campaign for the release of political prisoners in our country. In the final account, this forced the authorities to review our sentences. We came out of the jails the same way that we had entered them, as communists.

**O. Millas.** My generation, the generation of those who were born during the first years after the Great October, was given a powerful life-bringing impetus from the very beginning. The influence of the Soviet revolution became for us an incentive to participate in the socialist transformation of the world, the total emancipation of the individual, the elimination of all forms of exploitation, the enhancement of the homeland, freed from national and social oppression, and the establishment of universal brotherhood among working people.

This path was and remained difficult for all of us. As to myself, I had joined the social struggle since my adolescence. However, it was meeting noted leaders of the Chilean communist movement, such as Ricardo Fonseca, that was decisive in the life choice I made. I remember as though it was only yesterday reading his editorial in the communist newspaper *El Siglo*, written on the day Hitlerite Germany attacked the USSR. Every single word in that article was imbued with the firm and clear faith in the victory of the Soviet people. With tremendous persuasiveness he called for combat solidarity with the first socialist country. In general, Fonseca ascribed exceptional importance to helping the people realize the revolutionary role played by the country of the Great October Revolution, the Soviet Union, which he loved greatly. He educated our party in the spirit of these internationalist principles. As a result of the socialist renovation which is taking place today in the Soviet Union it is earning not only the sympathy of the entire world but also is strengthening the faith of the people in the inevitability of the victory of socialism on earth.

*Question. How would you describe the overall impact on the course of the class, democratic and liberation struggle in the world of the very fact of the appearance in the international arena, as a result of the victory of the October Revolution, of a state whose policy, from the very first days of its founding, has been based on the principles of scientific socialism, peaceful coexistence and proletarian internationalism?*

**I. Norlund.** The news of the February and, subsequently, October Revolution in Russia triggered a true explosion of political activeness among the masses tortured by the war. The seizure of power by the working people in Russia qualitatively changed the mood of the poor strata in Europe and the rest of the world. They acquired hope for a new, a better life. For the first time in history a victory had been won in the struggle for socialism as the embodiment of the age-old dream of the oppressed for social liberation.

The example of the Great October Revolution confirmed the need to revive the labor movement on the basis of the revolutionary doctrine created by Marx and Engels, developed by V. I. Lenin under the new conditions, and successfully implemented. The course of global developments led to the founding of the Communist International.

The Comintern greatly increased the efficiency of the labor and anti-imperialism movements. It was on the basis of this that Lenin and his supporters in various parts of the world proceeded. Lenin's address at the Second Comintern Congress, in 1920, and his book "The Infant Left-Wing Disease in Communism" spread the experience of the Great October Revolution and its laws among the participants of the international labor movement. Naturally, it was not a question of a blind duplication of the Soviet experience, for Lenin and the bolsheviks always firmly condemned such an approach



to the application of the theoretical and practical legacy of the October Revolution. The task was entirely different: to learn how to apply the universal experience of the first victorious revolution of the proletariat under the specific conditions of the different countries.

This neither was nor could be a simple matter. The item on the agenda was the establishment of revolutionary parties of the working class, based on the firm ideological foundation of the Marxist-Leninist platform. At the same time, it was exceptionally important to achieve unity of action with those who supported progressive and democratic positions but rejected that platform. The struggle for the unity of the forces of democracy and social progress became the permanent objective. In this connection, solidarity with the first socialist state in history was of great importance.

It was then that the Danish Communist Party was founded. This was in 1919 but, as was the case in other countries, it had to follow a difficult path before becoming a truly Marxist-Leninist party.

Repeatedly, in the past as well as in recent years, the party had to face efforts to isolate it, particularly under circumstances of increased anticommunist hysteria and anti-Soviet psychosis. During those difficult times the Danish Communist Party felt particularly strongly the full importance of international solidarity, which has always distinguished the communists. Successes in building socialism in the Soviet Union, despite the errors, omissions and deviations which occurred along such a totally unknown path, convinced us that, as we surmount all difficulties and efforts on the part of our opponents to speculate on the dramatic and sometimes tragic events in Soviet history we, communists, must go forward.

I believe that the distinguishing feature of the communists, of those who have thought profoundly about the historical significance of the October Revolution, is that they inevitably reached the conclusion that the victory of the bolsheviks and the building of a new society in the Soviet Union was our common gain which provided real opportunities for the reorganization of society on the principles of social justice both in our country and in the rest of the world.

**R. Samhoon.** The victory of the October Revolution, its idea of the elimination of the exploitation of man by man and of nation by nation, and the initiated implementation of these great ideals, the first in history, in the practical activities of the first state of workers and peasants, truly shook up the world. This impression was strengthened by the decisive and specific actions taken by the young socialist state. In the first days after it was established, the Soviet government made public the secrets Sykes-Picot 1916 Agreement, which called for the division of the Turkish possessions in the Middle East, i.e., the Arab lands, into "spheres of influence" of the imperialist countries. In other words, this was their

partition among imperialist predators. The appeal signed by Lenin to all toiling Muslims of the east met with tremendous response. In it the head of the first socialist state convincingly proved that imperialism was trading in the destinies of the peoples, their native lands and their freedom and lives themselves. Lenin called upon the peoples of the Orient to become the masters of their own countries and to realize that they held their future in their own hands.

The stronger the positions of the Soviet state, which was born of the October Revolution, became, the greater was the support, assistance and international aid in a great variety of areas that the Arab national liberation movement received. Such was the case in the course of the stubborn struggle which our peoples waged for the withdrawal of French and British troops from Lebanon and Syria. Thanks to the decisive support of this struggle provided by the Soviet Union, which exposed the French and British maneuverings and their secret conspiracy with the United States, foreign forces were pulled out of our countries in 1946.

Such was also the case when the Arab peoples mounted a struggle against the imperialist policy of putting together military blocs and against the numerous conspiracies and attempts to interfere in the domestic affairs of Lebanon and the other Arab countries. Such was also the case when the first socialist state in the world began to give our peoples selfless aid in a number of areas, from the initial period of independent development to the present. This has involved participation in building the Aswan Dam, the hydroelectric power plant on the Euphrates River, a metallurgical combine in Helwan, the building of hundreds of plants and completion of economic projects, military aid, and political and diplomatic support of the Arabs in their struggle for strengthening their independence and counteracting the aggressive actions of imperialism and of Israel. All of these are living proofs of cooperation which will be remembered by us forever as vivid symbols of the friendship which has linked and is linking the country of the October Revolution to the Arab peoples.

**N. Ashkhab.** The Decree on Peace which was adopted and promulgated by the Soviet system and its proclamation of the illegality of the acquisition or seizure of foreign land by force set a tradition entirely new in the history of mankind. The famous appeal to the working Muslims of Russia and the Orient is of equally permanent significance. It not only confirmed the solidarity expressed by the proletarian state with the just aspirations of peoples which profess Islam for freedom and independence but also expressed sincere respect for their beliefs. This too marked the beginning of an entirely new tradition, for it is a well-known fact that the European imperialist countries invariably scorned the religious convictions and ethnic originality of Muslim and non-Muslim countries in Asia and Africa in the course of their colonization.



Lenin's appeal to the working Muslims of the Orient has not lost its relevance. It is active and is "working" for good and progress today, refuting the insinuations of imperialist ideologues and the reactionary circles supporting them in countries which profess Islam. It is no secret that it is on the basis of such insinuations that fabrications are being created about the existence of some kind of irreconcilable contradiction between socialism, as a just social system, and the religious convictions of individuals. This is a desperate attempt at drawing the peoples of our countries away from the legitimate aspiration for true social justice.

We can say with confidence that the successes achieved by the peoples in the Arab countries, whether in the area of political independence or socioeconomic development, must not be considered separately from the policy of solidarity, aid and support which has been invariably and totally selflessly pursued by the Soviet Union throughout its history. It is simply impossible even to understand why an Arab country, like any Asian, African or Latin American country, can achieve a certain standard and status in its relations with the imperialist countries without taking into consideration the very fact of the existence in the international arena of the USSR and the other socialist countries, and their growing prestige, and the assertion, thanks to them, of the traditions and standards of international cooperation, radically different from those which prevailed during the period of unchallenged global imperialist rule by capitalism.

**J. Barrios.** The first news of the Great October Revolution was received in Central America through the news agencies which were, and still are under imperialist control. According to the news they reported, there was total chaos in Russia.

The power of truth, however, is amazing. Despite torrents of disinformation, their class instinct suggested to the poor and exploited that the first worker and peasant revolution, which was being made somewhere almost at the other end of the world, thousands of kilometers away from their own countries, met their hopes for a better life and, furthermore, that the day of liberation from dependence and exploitation was approaching. The appearance of a country in which simple working people had rejected the power of the capitalists and landowners seemed at that time something hard to imagine, almost inconceivable. In itself, however, it triggered a tremendous amount of interest and the desire to find, whatever the cost, the truth about that type of a country and the life of people who were no longer slaves of capitalism and were henceforth able independently able to decide their own fate.

The first communist groups appeared among workers and artisans in El Salvador by the start of the 1920s. The Great October Revolution and Lenin's theoretical legacy were the main guidelines of the first communist cells and, subsequently, the Communist Party in their search

for proletarian methods of revolutionary struggle. Those who stood at the sources of the organized worker and communist movement in Central America were inspired by the exploits of the Soviet people in building socialism, although they realized how inconceivably difficult this was, the kind of sacrifices it would require and the dangers facing the working people in the first country which was advancing toward the heights of social progress without a historical precedent, without a practically tried system or prescription.

The ideas of the Great October Revolution captured the imagination and won the minds and hearts not only of radical and revolutionary elements but also of the broad strata of the democratic public, who did not share communist convictions. The Great Patriotic War waged by the Soviet people against German fascism and Japanese militarism intensified the impact of the ideas of socialism and the October Revolution on the minds of millions and millions of people the world over, including those in our area. The peoples clearly felt that the destinies of mankind and the solution of the problem of whether they themselves would be able to avoid fascist slavery were being decided on the battlefields of the Red Army, fighting the Hitlerite hordes. The outcome of this battle of universal historical significance could not help but enhance further the influence of the Soviet Union and the spreading of communist and Leninist ideas.

**J. Lava.** Under the direct influence of the October Revolution, a revolutionary movement of peasants and workers was started in our country in the 1920s, a movement which imbued the best traditions of the 1896 Philippine revolution against Spanish domination, which was suppressed by the colonizers. It was on the basis of this movement that the Philippine Communist Party was founded in August 1930, and officially proclaimed on 7 November, on the 13th anniversary of the October Revolution. In itself, this is a reflection of the patriotic as well as the profound internationalist orientation of the founders of our party and their aspiration to achieve national liberation, democracy, social justice, progress and socialism. Examples of courage and firmness set by the revolutionaries in distant Soviet Russia helped us to withstand even the harshest trials, many of which have occurred in the history of our party.

Remembering Lenin's instructions on the need to master all forms of struggle, the communists were not caught unawares when the Philippines were occupied by militaristic Japan in December 1941. They immediately organized a National Anti-Japanese Army (Hukbalahap), which was an armed detachment of the National Anti-Japanese United Front, which included members of all social strata who refused to collaborate with the enemy. The fact that the Communist Party resisted while the other parties took the path of collaboration greatly increased its influence among the masses and helped to develop a movement of solidarity with the land of the soviets, which alone opposed the repeal the aggression of Hitlerite fascism in the harshest battles.

After the liberation of the country from Japanese occupation the Communist Party turned to legal forms of struggle. It recreated the labor and peasant movements and set up associations of students and state employees. Together with the other anti-Japanese resistance movements, the party participated in the establishment of an anti-imperialist democratic alliance, which was joined, along with peasants and workers, by patriotic landowners, entrepreneurs and intellectuals. The scope of the struggle waged by the masses greatly worried U.S. imperialism, which set as its objective to crush the democratic alliance. In 1946, under the conditions of the cold war, with the help of its local satellites, U.S. imperialism mounted in our country an armed campaign which lasted many years and the victims of which were, above all, the Philippine communists.

**O. Millas.** The Chilean labor movement has a long history of great combat traditions. That is why the upheaval which the Great October Revolution triggered in Chilean society was quite beneficial. Its influence became decisive in the enhancement of the struggle waged by the people's masses on a new and qualitatively higher level. The fact that the socialist revolution had won in a huge country, despite the fierce opposition, domestic and foreign, and a counterrevolution, and was able to hold on and to strengthen its positions, contributed to the immeasurable growth of the awareness of the working class and awakened the broad masses to responsible historical initiatives.

The direct influence which the Great October Revolution had on the destinies of Chile can be easily seen in the political, social, cultural and other events which took place in the country, the development of which reached its peak by 1920. At that time the obsolete oligarchic republic was in the throws of an insoluble crisis. A bourgeois-reformist government assumed power. Major actions by worker and popular masses became widespread. The trade union movement was drastically revived under the aegis of the Labor Federation. The Chilean Communist Party was founded on the basis of the Socialist Labor Party. The idea of socialism became much more tangible and attractive to the masses.

The creative and dynamic spirit of the October Revolution and the comprehensive combat experience of the Russian working class and the Leninist Bolshevik Party somehow were invisibly present in the innumerable actions carried out by the popular masses in our country. We invariably relied on the revolutionary traditions of the October Revolution in all possible situations, including the period of activities of the Popular Front by the end of the 1930s, during the administration of the Popular Unity government (1970-1973) and today, in the course of a stubborn opposition mounted by our people to fascist tyranny.

Millions of Chileans are becoming active antifascists and supporters of peace, democracy and social progress. Support of the ideas of proletarian internationalism and,

with it, class, patriotic and revolutionary resolve to carry out to its completion the cause of national and social liberation are strengthening in the broad circles of the working class and the popular masses.

*Question. In his time, addressing himself to the progressive social forces, K. Marx called upon them to "look at things as they are, i.e., to defend revolutionary interests in a way which would be consistent with changed circumstances" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," [Works], vol 31, p 438). How, in the light of this, the still exceptionally relevant Marxian call to the revolutionary forces of the world, can we assess the significance of the theoretical legacy of the October Revolution, the laws it brought to light and their role under present conditions which have changed so profoundly over the past 7 decades? Describe the main areas of work of Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking in your countries.*

**I. Norlund.** The traditions of the Great October Revolution are not a frozen system. On the contrary, they develop and must develop in accordance with changing circumstances. The viability of the theoretical legacy of the October Revolution and the ideas of Leninism are found precisely in the fact that they do not fear the challenge of the times or any changes in the conditions of the struggle. The reason for this is simple: dogmatism and a spirit of stagnation are organically alien to our great revolutionary doctrine. This doctrine is in a state of constant movement, imbuing within itself ever new phenomena occurring in social life, creatively interpreting them and providing them with a scientific substantiation and, therefore, the only true answers to questions raised by life at each stage of development.

When the threat of war arose in the 1930s and fascism became a real menace to the revolutionary labor movement, the formulation of a new tactic became vitally important. The new policy was formulated on the basis of the new experience. The essence of that policy had been formulated at the Seventh Comintern Congress. The strengthening of socialism in the Soviet Union was the foundation for the fact that, in the final account, fascism suffered a crushing defeat in the war it had unleashed.

The defeat of fascism opened the way to socialism for many countries. In various parts of the world it triggered a powerful upsurge in the activities of democratic and socialist forces, the communist parties in particular. Once again, the October Revolution, to which anyone who has been granted the great right of calling himself a communist is linked with invisible and strong ties, played a tremendous inspiring role and contributed to seeking ways leading to socialism in the world. Imperialism and reaction answered this with a counterstrike, which was the cold war.

As it later became clear, already then American imperialism was making plans for waging a nuclear war on the USSR and the other socialist countries. However, the

changing correlation of forces prevented their implementation. The credit for this belongs above all to the Soviet Union which, within a short time, was able to rebuild its national economy, dislocated during the war years, and to achieve tremendous successes in the development of science, technology and culture. The achievements of the USSR moderated the aggressive zeal of imperialism and, at the same time, instilled in the peoples a hope for success in their struggle for peace. Therefore, real socialism—the great offspring of the October Revolution—once again met the challenge of the times and the changes in the conditions of the struggle waged by the masses for a better future, answering it as is typical of scientific socialism—in a revolutionary manner.

It was precisely thus, in a revolutionary manner, that the Soviet Union is meeting the new challenge of the times, initiating in the past 2 years a process of restructuring, so that socialist society can be able fully to cope with the major problems encountered by man at the end of the 20th century. Daringly, courageously, and in a truly bolshevik manner, i.e., in the revolutionary spirit of the October Revolution, Lenin's party exposed the problems which had accumulated, identified their profound roots, undertook to surmount customs which hindered progress and mounted an offensive against the forces of stagnation, which blocked renovation and the new powerful thrust of socialism. The social and economic acceleration in the Soviet Union and the related restructuring will, unquestionably, constitute a revolutionary change. What is exceptionally important is that man is at the center of everything that is taking place. True democracy is becoming the accurate and most efficient means of implementation of the initiated changes. This provides scope for the most powerful constructive force of socialism—free labor and free thought in a free country.

Let me mention yet another exceptionally important matter. The first appeal with which the October Revolution turned to all mankind was the appeal for peaceful coexistence, contained in Lenin's Decree on Peace, and embodied in the course of the constant and purposeful struggle waged by the land of the soviets for peace.

In the traditions of the Great October Revolution, the USSR is pursuing a dynamic peaceful policy, inspiring with its daring initiatives all forces fighting against a war. The qualitatively new situation which has developed in connection with the appearance of new types of armaments calls for seeking new and additional ways in the struggle for peace, for nuclear war is not simply the extension of policy by other means. It threatens the subjects of politics themselves with annihilation. That is why it is necessary and possible to rally all peace-loving forces in order to halt the slide toward nuclear catastrophe and to establish a broad, an all-embracing "coalition of reason," which would provide conditions for safeguarding life on earth.

Today the vitality of the ideas of the Great October Revolution is manifested above all in the fact that they are supported by the nations. This provides the peace-loving forces with powerful potential opportunities. The radical changes taking place in the Soviet Union and its foreign policy, which is consistent with the basic interest of the peoples, are showing new ways leading to social progress which, in turn, is inconceivable without victory in the struggle for peace, the enhancement of the activities of the working class and of all people of good will.

**R. Samhoon.** The theoretical lessons of the October Revolution and the laws it identified are our common priceless gain. Their application has had a positive influence on the progressive and democratic forces the world over, including many Arab philosophers and fighters against oppression and exploitation. This process has led and continues to lead to the conversion of many revolutionary democrats to the positions of the communist parties and to the creation of prerequisites for the elaboration of an Arab revolutionary concept in the light of Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

The Arab communists are convinced that the influence of the ideas of the October Revolution and those of scientific socialism will become even broader and deeper in connection with the radical and comprehensive restructuring taking place in the Soviet Union and the impact it will have on the entire global revolutionary process. The Arab public is following with hope, joy and faith the important and truly historically significant steps which are being taken these days by the Soviet people in the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress. The numerous friends of the Soviet Union in the Arab countries clearly realize that restructuring, which is aimed at the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic progress, is of a truly all-embracing revolutionary nature. It is based on the live creativity of the masses and their deep interest in change. The motive force of restructuring is found in the inflexible will of the Soviet communists, the heirs of the great cause of those who, 70 years ago, stormed the Winter Palace and, a quarter-of-a-century later, rescued the world from the "brown plague," and who are now solving the tremendous problems which the scientific and technical revolution set to socialism. These problems will be solved not in some indefinite future but within the shortest possible time, starting with now. This is also a manifestation of real continuity of the accomplishments of the Great October Revolution and the true creative application of Marxist-Leninist doctrine under the new changed circumstances and service to the revolution.

In the face of the new processes taking place in our area and throughout the world, and within the framework of the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory, in our view, urgent theoretical work must be done on a number of problems in the Arab countries. Naturally, not all of them can be enumerated but let us point out,

above all, that of intraparty democracy and the involvement of all members of communist parties and all of their agencies in defining and implementing a political and organizational line, so that the party may be receptive to anything that is new and can be restructured on its basis, and always, whatever the circumstances, play a vanguard role. We must also mention the proper dialectical combination of two aspects of the class struggle—the national and the social—in the age which was inaugurated with the October Revolution, the age of the enrichment of the national liberation movement with a new social content. Another remaining very important problem is that of the role of the working class, its party and the party program within the revolutionary class alliance, which includes various strata of the petite and middle urban and rural bourgeoisie and the revolutionary intelligentsia. It is a question of an alliance the purpose of which is the establishment of a truly democratic political system which would struggle for true economic independence and economic development and would help to eliminate the frightening gap between developed and developing countries.

I shall also mention problems of the accurate dialectical combination within party work of national with international tasks and the need to play a more active role in coordinating the activities and strengthening unity in the struggle waged by the proletariat and the working people the world over under the conditions of internationalization of capital and production and the domination of multinational corporations. Finally, we must not fail to point out the vitally important problem of the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, lifting the threat of nuclear war under Lebanese conditions and the conditions of other developing countries, and the close ties between this struggle and the struggle against imperialism and between the socioeconomic problems of our countries and the struggle against the arms race. For it is entirely obvious today that we cannot solve major social problems of peaceful development and closing the most profound gap between developed and developing countries without uprooting militarism.

These and many other vital problems must be considered in the light of the new style of political thinking, an example of which is being set to us by Lenin's party and the homeland of the October Revolution.

**N. Ashkhab.** One of the most important results of the influence of the ideas of the October Revolution on Arab and all colonial and independent countries was the realization by the progressive and democratic forces of the need for and mandatory nature of a revolutionary alliance with the USSR in the struggle against imperialism and for the sake of progress and peace. As to the national movement of the Palestinian people, to us this problem is particularly important and meaningful. Today all detachments within the Palestinian movement accept the prime significance of an alliance with the USSR.

The legacy of the October Revolution is influencing political thinking in the Arab world as a whole and among the Palestinians in particular, above all on problems of war and peace, which hold a leading position among the other problems of our time. We know that quite broad Arab and Palestinian national circles showed a certain caution and doubt toward the period of detente in the 1970s. Today the national Palestinian circles link their hopes to improving relations between the Soviet Union and the United States and achieving success in nuclear disarmament, which is encouraged by the USSR. The conviction has strengthened in the Arab world that all of this will create a favorable climate for holding an international conference to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict and to solve the Palestinian problem on the basis of the UN resolution.

The experience of the October Revolution and the ideas formulated by Lenin and tested through the practical experience of bolshevism are of permanent significance and remain relevant to this day. This is convincingly confirmed by the processes taking place in the Soviet Union. One of the main trends of an unparalleled nature of the renovation which is taking place under our very eyes in the homeland of the Great October Revolution is the intensification of democracy. The new and inspiring examples of socialist reality and its humanism, confirmed by restructuring in the USSR, will unquestionably intensify quantitatively and qualitatively the influence of the October Revolution on the minds of all mankind, including the Arab peoples.

**J. Barrios.** The communists have always been distinguished by the ability honestly and courageously to admit their shortcomings, errors and omissions and, again and again, to seek and find ways and means of solving the pressing problems of the struggle for national and social liberation, the building of a new society and its strengthening.

We do not have to look far for examples. They are provided today by Soviet reality and the bolshevik style of daring search by the CPSU of new ways for accelerating the development of socialist society and eliminating anything which hinders it. Thanks to the active efforts of the Leninist party in revolutionary restructuring, the importance of which has gone beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union, millions and millions of people are mastering a new style of political thinking. It is helping even those who do not share revolutionary ideas but who realize their role and responsibility in the struggle for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and the survival of mankind. The new style of political thinking opens the way to the creation of a nuclear-free and safe world in which the demand for justice and dignity for all nations will be respected.

Knowledge of the foundations of scientific socialism taught us, Central American communists, that Marxism is not a dogma but a manual for action and that our obligation is to provide a specific analysis of specific

reality. We try to follow these principles to the extent of our forces and possibilities. As to the development of Marxist-Leninist creative thinking in terms of the conditions of our countries, we must openly admit that our practical contribution still remains quite modest. We can see it in party documents which analyze the socioeconomic conditions in our countries and the facts and events of the revolutionary struggle. Such an analysis was tested by reality. We must acknowledge, however, that we have made a number of errors as well, which have inspired us to refine our views on reality in our own countries and correspondingly to amend the general line of struggle. The experience of the other fraternal parties and of the two victorious revolutions which were made in the past 20 years in Latin America—the Cuban and the Sandinista in Nicaragua—has been of invaluable assistance to us.

It is important for us today to undertake a theoretical analysis of some phenomena and features found in Central America. In our countries Marxist-Leninist ideas must provide a clear scientific interpretation of exceptionally topical problems, such as the motive forces of national liberation revolutions at the contemporary stage; the involvement in the revolutionary masses by believers and, consequently, the problem of alliances; the correlation between the nature of the revolution and the ways of its development; the question of the overall revolutionary situation and the level of maturity it has reached, which is directly related to the question of the objective and subjective factors of the revolution and, in turn, to problems of the vanguard role and hegemony of the working class. Another fundamental problem is that of the transitional period from democratic, antioligarchic and anti-imperialist revolution to a socialist revolution.

**J. Lava.** In our days the legacy of the October Revolution, like the new style of political thinking and the ideas of the 27th CPSU Congress are having a substantial influence on the situation in the world, including the development of the Philippines, our country, and the establishment within it of conditions which will enable us to wage more successfully the struggle with the still dominant influence of American imperialism and neo-colonialism.

These conditions themselves steadily demand of the communists to perfect their strategy and tactics and to formulate, on the basis of our scientific theory, new approaches to changing reality. In pursuing the firm policy of defending our independence and the anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle for national liberation, at the beginning of the 1970s, despite the state of emergency proclaimed by the Marcos government, the Communist Party decided to make use of the opportunities for resuming legal forms of struggle. It supported some progressive elements of the governmental program for a "new society," although it firmly condemned its negative aspects, including the authoritarian nature of the regime. After 2 years of state of emergency, under

circumstances of a worsening world crisis, which affected the economy of the Philippines as well, the Marcos government encountered impressive opposition on the part of forces supported by the United States. Under those circumstances, the ruling circles accepted to legalize our party and the progressive mass movement headed by it. An amnesty was proclaimed and political prisoners were set free. In turn, our party abandoned the armed forms of struggle.

Toward the end of the 1970s the Marcos regime began to retreat from its old positions. This forced the Communist Party to convert from a policy of "critical support" to "constructive opposition." The Philippine Communist Party and the mass movement headed by it used the February 1986 presidential elections to explain to the people their anti-imperialist policy and objectives of national liberation. After the current President C. Aquino came to power and after her call for national unity and reconciliation, the Communist Party positively responded to the appeal, stating that it would support any government which would work for the interest of the Philippine masses and help to reducing the country's dependence. At the same time, the Philippine Communist Party stated that it intended to continue to oppose any government which would serve U.S. imperialism and act contrary to the interest of the Philippine people.

Whatever conditions may be developing in the country, the Philippine Communist Party remains a revolutionary party, for its task is the radical reorganization of the socioeconomic system, based on the theory of socialism, which is founded on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. This is most consistent with and answers the expectations of the people of the Philippines.

**O. Millas.** After 1917 the creative mastery of Leninism became one of the most important tasks for Latin American revolutionaries. We had to interpret both the lessons of the October Revolution itself as well as the significance of the objective laws it brought to light. It was also important creatively to apply the theoretical conclusions and identify the laws in analyzing Latin American life and the processes of social change in our countries.

In Chile, after the victory of the Great October revolution, self-taught workers developed the idea of creating an active mass movement and undertaking the profound study of the scientific concepts of Marxism-Leninism. It was precisely thus that Louis Emilio Recabarren, the founder of our party, and his students, people who worked in mines and did hard and exhausting work in industry, in the fields and in the printing shops, acted.

Under the influence of the October Revolution theoretical studies developed in Latin America covering our comprehensive and complex reality. Virtually all Latin American and Caribbean countries nurtured noted

Marxist philosophers, firm fighters, and famous politicians and outstanding men of culture. Extensive theoretical studies are continuing in terms of today's reality and the current stage in the struggle for democracy and socialism. The communists face exceptional responsibility for the proper evaluation of processes in the individual countries and in the world at large and for a timely and accurate choice of political lines and tactics consistent with the needs of the moment. This largely determines the destinies of socialism and national independence and the realization of the possibilities of the worker and liberation movements. This also determines the solution of many universal problems and the survival of mankind itself.

Restructuring in the Soviet Union inspires Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking in intensifying the creative development of the new sociopolitical problems and analyzing pressing problems. The processes of renovation in the USSR help not only the communists but all other progressive and democratic forces to mount an offensive and to seize the initiative. Above all, they sharply increase the interest shown by the broad masses in the ideas of scientific socialism and lay a new foundation for the future victories of revolutionary and democratic forces.

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**Theoretical Preparations for the October Revolution; Lenin, Revolution, Democracy**

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[Text] The path of history is steep and twisting, particularly during revolutionary periods. Its turns are determined by thousands of different circumstances: the condition of the economy, the strength of the government, the correlation among class forces, the readiness of revolutionary masses to engage in decisive action, the level of influence of the different political parties and the realistic nature of their political programs. A great deal also depends on whether or not such parties have specific combat slogans which can attract the masses and lead them to an uncompromising struggle for the profound, the basic interests of the working people.

However, the most important thing in a period of change is the existence of a political party which, accurately reflecting the aspirations of the broad popular strata, can formulate and implement a scientific program for revolutionary change, aimed not only at meeting current requirements but also at a long-term historical future. It

must be a program which, among the many possible choices, would enable us to choose a path of social development which would be the most consistent with the existing political situation.

In a period of revolutionary change, when the temptation to solve all problems once and for all is particularly strong, the importance of a sober, a realistic approach to the definition of programmatic tasks, increases greatly. The purpose of theory is to take into consideration the political experience acquired by the masses, to direct them toward specific and understandable objectives and to build the future with the bricks of the present. It is only then that it can help the working people to realize the vital practical tasks and properly to define the ways, means and methods of struggle.

It was precisely such a program for action for the Bolshevik Party that was developed by V. I. Lenin on the eve of the October Revolution, a program which creatively combined current with long-term objectives. For that reason, its study allows us not only to interpret the experience gained in the theoretical preparations for the October Revolution but also many of the lessons of the subsequent development of our country which, more than ever before, must be evaluated today from the viewpoint of loyalty to the Leninist course.

As the objective of the labor movement in Russia, the socialist revolution was decided as early as 1903, at the 2nd RSDWP Congress, with the first party program. In 1917, however, under the complex and conflicting situation of twin power, political and theoretical hesitations developed in some bolsheviks, including members of the party's leadership, on the specific methods applied in its activities under the new conditions and the immediate prospects of a revolution.

These hesitations were relatively quickly surmounted after Lenin's return to Petrograd, the publication of his April Theses and their approval at the 7th (April) RSDWP(b) Conference, which adopted a course of peaceful socialist revolution. Nonetheless, the further development of the revolutionary process in Russia and its sharp turns required a steady theoretical interpretation of the stormy events which were taking place and the summation of their experience and lessons.

This work became particularly urgent under the conditions which developed in the country on the eve of the October revolution. While living in clandestinity, Lenin had written a number of works in which he had advocated and developed the idea of an armed uprising as the only way of access to power for the proletariat after the July events, and in which he had substantiated in detail the political need and timeliness of such an uprising. Lenin's works were the sharpest ideological weapon wielded by the Bolshevik Party in the struggle for winning the masses over and for preparing for armed uprising. The only solution to the situation, according to Lenin, was shifting the state power to the proletariat,

supported by the poorest peasantry or the semi-proletariat (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 34, p 16; further references to V. I. Lenin's Complete Collected Works will indicate volume and page only).

The appearance of works which provided a comprehensive scientific substantiation of the way to socialism fully reflected Lenin's method of revolutionary struggle. He never allowed himself to engage in theoretical improvisations or rely exclusively on political intuition. He planned profoundly and substantiated scientifically every step forward in the revolutionary restructuring of society. Lenin, who considered Marxism a manual for action, did not allow even a shade of dogmatic approach to theory; on each separate occasion he analyzed the historical situation anew, and drew lessons from past experience in determining immediate and long-term tasks and earmarking the most suitable methods of struggle for the occasion. Constantly seeking Marx's "advice," and profoundly analyzing Marx's and Engels' works and reviving their ideas and conclusions, which had been ignored by the opportunists of the Second International, he restored the revolutionary essence of Marxism, creatively applying it to the specific conditions of the Russian revolution.

Among the other theoretical problems, Lenin paid prime attention to the that of the state. The reason for this was, first, that the main problem of any revolution is that of power, its class nature, essence and forms. Second, the fact that the Marxist theory of power and the state had been totally distorted and debased by the opportunists of the Second International, K. Kautsky more than anyone else, on the one hand, and by the anarchists, on the other. Furthermore, even some bolsheviks were not entirely clear as to their attitude toward the state under the conditions of a socialist revolution. This is confirmed by Lenin's criticism of N. I. Bukharin's views on this matter, in his note entitled "The Youth International" (see vol 30, pp 225-229).

In August 1917, in his preface to the first edition of "The State and Revolution," Vladimir Ilich wrote: "The question of the attitude of the socialist revolution of the proletariat toward the state assumes... not simply a practical-political significance but also a most relevant importance, as the problem of explaining to the masses what they must do to achieve their liberation from the yoke of capital in the immediate future" (vol 33, p 4).

In preparing the party and the working class for a socialist revolution, Lenin pitted the Marxist theory of the state against opponents from the right and the left. In fighting the anarchists, he refuted their theory of rejection of the state and its total elimination immediately following the victory of the socialist revolution, the state being a weapon for the oppression of the people and a force which is always hostile to the popular masses. In arguing with the revisionists, Lenin proved the total groundlessness of their ideas of retaining the principles

of bourgeois democracy, and their inability to accept the need to advance the class struggle to the point of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the seizure of political power by the working class.

Based on the experience of previous revolutions and on a dialectical understanding of the nature and role of the state, Marxism teaches the need for the destruction of the bourgeois governmental machinery and the creation of a state of proletarian dictatorship. "... Dictatorship by a single class is necessary not only in any class-oriented society in general and not only in the case of the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but for the entire historical period which separates capitalism from a 'classless society' and communism" (ibid., p 35).

In describing the state of proletarian dictatorship, Lenin indicated the essential distinction between it and all previous state systems created by the exploiting classes. The state of the proletariat is a "semi-state," it is a withering away state, for it is a dictatorship over an insignificant social minority and a democracy for the overwhelming majority. The political form of such a "state" (Lenin put this word in quotation marks—author) is the fullest possible democracy (ibid., p 19).

This Leninist stipulation is of essential significance not only to the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. It is exceptionally relevant to this day. For a long time, by virtue of a number of objective and, particularly, subjective circumstances, the democratic institutions in our country by no means operated at full capacity. That is why the current revolutionary steps implemented by the party and aimed at restructuring social life and broadening democracy and glasnost are not simply the latest campaign, as some people still seem to believe, but the restoration and development of the political essence itself of socialism, as understood by Lenin. Without democracy, socialism is unable to display its nature and advantages in full. That is why a course leading to democracy is a long-term program which will last until the transition from socialist to communist self-government, at which point the division of society into classes will disappear once and for all and the state will wither away.

In order to implement restructuring, all of us must learn how to live and act under conditions of democracy and glasnost, to defend our views while respecting those of others, to look the truth of life in the face, to eliminate the embellishment of reality and to promote the comprehensive exercise of democracy as the power of the people themselves.

In this connection, Lenin's understanding of the specific forms of democracy after the victory of the socialist revolution becomes particularly important. In analyzing this question, Lenin comprehensively substantiated the need for transferring the entire power to the soviets of worker, soldier and peasant deputies. The soviets, which



were born of the revolutionary initiative of the working people in the course of the 1905-1907 revolution, which reappeared during the February 1917 revolution and which were emasculated by conciliationists, who converted them into a powerless appendage of the Provisional Government during the July events, concealed, however, a tremendous potential power, for they relied on the firm support of the working people. The revolutionizing of the masses in the autumn of 1917 and their break with the conciliationists led to the bolshevizing of the soviets. They became a weapon of the armed uprising and the machinery of the future state—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The proletariat cannot 'master the state apparatus' (the bourgeois state—author) and 'put it in motion,' Lenin wrote. "However, it can destroy anything which is oppressive, stereotyped and incurably bourgeois in the old state apparatus and replace it with its own new apparatus. It is the apparatus of the soviet worker, soldier and peasant deputies" (vol 34, p 303). Further substantiating and refining this thought, Lenin emphasized: "If the people's creativity of the revolutionary classes had not created the soviets, the proletarian revolution in Russia would have been a hopeless cause, for it is unquestionable that with the help of the old apparatus the proletariat could not stay in power and a new apparatus cannot be created immediately" (ibid., p 305). Therefore, Lenin considered the existence of the soviets, created by the working people themselves and following the bolsheviks, the most important prerequisite for the victory of the socialist revolution.

The essence of the soviets as the new machinery of state power was their true democracy. Having appeared in the course of the revolutionary creativity of the popular masses themselves, consisting of representatives of these masses, acting in the interest of the working people, implementing their will and relying on them, the soviets were democratic institutions. As agencies of the power and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they had unique opportunities which even the most "democratic" agencies of bourgeois democracy neither had nor could have.

To begin with, Lenin pointed out, the soviets created the armed force of workers and peasants which, unlike the old army, did not oppose the people but was most closely related to the people; militarily, this force was incomparably stronger than the old ones and, from the revolutionary point of view, irreplaceable. It was only such a force that could carry out an armed uprising against the bourgeois system and defend the gains of the revolution. Second, the soviets ensured close, unbreakable and steadily renewable ties with the masses, which was inconceivable with the old bourgeois apparatus. Third, because of its elective and replaceable membership, based on the will of the people and without bureaucratic formalities, this apparatus was distinguished by much greater democracy than the old power machinery. Fourth, the apparatus of the soviets created strong ties

with a great variety of professions, thus facilitating a great deal of most profound reforms without any bureaucracy. The knowledge and social and practical experience of the working people thus became a powerful means of revolutionary change of all aspects of social life. Fifth, the apparatus of the soviets gave a shape to the organization of the vanguard, i.e., to the most conscious, energetic and progressive segment of workers and peasants. It was an apparatus through which the vanguard of the oppressed classes could rise, educate and lead the entire huge mass of such classes which had remained previously on the margin of political life and history. Sixth, the soviets made it possible to combine the advantages of parliamentarianism with those of direct and immediate democracy, i.e., to combine in the elected representatives of the people legislative with executive functions (see *ibid.*, pp 304-305).

In developing in his pamphlet "Will The Bolsheviks Retain the Power of the State?" the theoretical aspects of the proletarian revolution, Lenin raised a question of essential importance, that of the attitude toward the various elements of the old apparatus of the bourgeois state. Proceeding from the fact that this apparatus consists, on the one hand, of punitive authorities—army, police, jails and so on—and, on the other, of economic management authorities, including banks and trade unions (which are not entirely state organizations under capitalism but which will become entirely statified under socialism), Lenin raised the idea of breaking down and fully replacing with a new apparatus the first part, while retaining and using the second in the interests of the victorious proletariat. The functions of control and management, with the guidance and participation of the working people, could be performed by the old officials as well. As to the upper stratum of employees and even the capitalists, it was entirely likely that their opposition to the new system could be easily crushed or, thanks to the strict control exercised by the working people, nullified. In formulating the statement addressed to the bourgeois specialists that "he who does not work does not eat," while at the same time highly paying for their honest work for the good of society, the proletarian state can win over the skilled specialists and use them in its own interests.

The main strength of the soviet system, Lenin emphasized, lies in ties with the masses and in its reliance on them. "... We have a 'miraculous means' of immediately, with a single strike, increasing our state apparatus tenfold, a means which no capitalist state has ever had or could have. This miraculous means consists of involving the working people, involving the poor in the daily work of managing the state" (*ibid.*, p 313).

As we look at the present, we cannot fail to see that Lenin's thoughts on the nature and essence of the soviet system were, at a certain stage in our history, by no means fully applied and were even ignored. The role of the soviets as the exclusive and total authorities of the state was weakened. Their activities became increasingly



formal. The apparatus of the soviets occasionally took over their elective authorities. The role of the people's deputies was belittled. The power functions of the soviets were restricted by their administration by the party authorities, which could not fail to narrow their prerogatives.

The transformation of our state from a state of dictatorship of the proletariat to a state of the whole nation did not change the practice of underestimating the role of the soviets. This was particularly reflected on the development of the social sphere, which fell increasingly behind the needs of the people. The excessive strengthening of departmentalism led, essentially, to a loss of influence on the part of the local soviets over the activities of industrial and agricultural enterprises on their territory. The soviet authorities had extremely limited possibilities in terms of environmental protection, and their fiscal means were also clearly inadequate.

The 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums formulated steps aimed at upgrading the authority and role of the soviets of people's deputies on all levels and restoring to them their partially lost power functions. Under the conditions of restructuring this is one of the most important political tasks related to the development of democracy and reconstruction as a whole. The program for democratizing the management of the country's economy as a means of surmounting economic dislocation was a substantial structural component of the Leninist understanding of full democracy. The reason for the difficult situation which prevailed in Russia's national economy in the autumn of 1917, Lenin noted, was the continuing imperialist war although it was not the only one. The main reason was the sabotage practiced by the capitalists, who were deliberately encouraging economic chaos in the hope that this would bring about the collapse of the republic and democracy, abolish the soviets and other democratic institutions and, consequently, lead to the restoration of the monarchy and the omnipotence of the bourgeoisie and the land owners.

Without taking decisive measures against the saboteurs, measures which would inevitably affect the unparalleled profits of a handful of capitalists and land owners, preventing a catastrophe would have been inconceivable. However, the Provisional Government, which consisted of representatives of the essentially conciliationist parties of the SR and the mensheviks, remained idle, fearing to encroach on the sacredness of private property. It was thus that it contributed to the economic collapse of the country.

No single political party in Russia was able to formulate and implement a program for rescuing the people from poverty and hunger and the salvation of the country from the national catastrophe into which it was being led by the criminal policy of the ruling classes. Lenin and the bolsheviks alone could see a real solution to the developing dead end: a socialist revolution. The work "The

Threatening Catastrophe and How to Fight It," contained an economic platform for a proletarian revolution. In it Lenin formulated a program of steps which should be implemented by the proletarian state after the victory of the revolution which, under the developing circumstances, was becoming not only politically but also economically necessary. "It is impossible to go forth in 20th century Russia, having acquired a republic and democracy through revolution, without going forth toward socialism and marching toward it..." (vol 34, p 192).

Lenin substantiated the need and possibility of advancing toward socialism above all by citing the existence of monopoly capital in the most important sectors of Russia's economy. The nationalization of monopolies and their conversion into state-monopoly enterprises working for the good of the people was the most decisive step toward socialism, which alone could save the country from the threatening catastrophe.

On this basis, Lenin deemed necessary the democratization of the economy by introducing nationwide control over the production and distribution of goods, the activities of banks and the profits of the capitalists. To this effect, it was necessary to nationalize banks and trade unions, to eliminate commercial secrets, to control consumption and, above all, to involve the masses of workers and lower-ranking employees in the active implementation of such steps. "We must," he pointed out, "turn to the initiative of workers and employees and summon them immediately to conferences and congresses and put in their hands a certain share of the profits, providing that a comprehensive control is established and production is increased" (ibid., p 170).

Displaying the convictions of a true democrat, Lenin believed in the ability of the working people to bring order in the country's economic life not in words but in action, and to restrain the arbitrariness and greed of the capitalists. However, as this quotation shows, he deemed important also materially to interest the people's controllers in streamlining and developing the production process. It was no accident that much later, after the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin called for building socialism by combining the enthusiasm of the masses, born of the revolution, with their material interest in upgrading labor productivity and quality. Equally legitimate is the fact that, in describing the first phase of the communist society, socialism, in his "State and Revolution," he emphasized that he excluded wage equalization in the implementation of the principle of "an equal amount of product for an equal amount of labor." The concept according to which those who work more and better should receive more for their work, which is now being asserted under the conditions of restructuring, is a truly socialist principle and is entirely justified, economically as well as theoretically. That is why the decisions made at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum on

the restructuring of the economic mechanism, broadening the rights of enterprises and associations and converting them to cost accounting and self-support are the most important landmarks in the implementation of full democracy which Lenin considered the essence of the socialist state.

The theoretical work done by Lenin between August and the beginning of October 1917 was of tremendous practical importance. Under the conditions of the advancing revolutionary crisis, drastic aggravation of the class struggle and increased confusion and discord among opportunistic conciliationists, he provided a clear, efficient and strictly scientific answer to the basic problems of the revolution. The leader of the Bolshevik Party convincingly proved not only the possibility of but also the need for making a proletarian revolution in Russia in the most immediate future. He substantiated the inevitability of an armed uprising, which was the only way to overthrow the Provisional Government. He proved that under the existing situation the salvation of the country from political and economic catastrophe becomes a matter for the people, the working class and the toiling peasantry.

The economic changes earmarked by Lenin, aimed at eliminating economic dislocation and consisting of nationalizing the property of monopoly capital and establishing nationwide control over production and distribution of the national wealth, are of great importance. It was only a movement toward socialism and taking direct steps toward it, Lenin believed, that would make it possible to surmount the economic chaos. Lenin brought to light the role of the soviets in establishing a new power system immediately after the socialist revolution and the implementation of the urgent revolutionary changes in the country.

Nonetheless, we must not fail to emphasize that Lenin ascribed a decisive role to problems of socialist democracy. All his works on theoretical problems written on the eve of the October Revolution are imbued with the idea of democracy. It was precisely to democracy that he assigned the main role in revolutionary changes, in suppressing the resistance of exploiters and the counter-revolution and in mobilizing the masses in the struggle for socialism. Lenin considered democracy the most important prerequisite for the creation and functioning of the socialist state. It was only democracy, in which the toiling masses would consciously and directly participate in the administration of their own affairs, that could ensure the political activeness of the people, release their revolutionary initiative and involve the broadest possible popular strata in building a new life.

Lenin profoundly believed in the creative forces of the masses—the real subject of the historical process—freed from exploitation. However, he believed that the building of socialism was possible only on the basis of the scientific theory of Marxism. The revolutionary changes currently taking place in the country, consistent with the

creative spirit of Lenin's legacy, presume above all daring theoretical thinking and fearless highlighting of the true content of the real situation. "To conceal unpleasant truth with soothing words," Lenin wrote in May 1917, "is the most harmful and most dangerous thing for the cause of the proletariat and the toiling masses. The truth, however bitter it may be, must be looked straight in the face. A policy which does not meet this condition is a doomed policy" (vol 32, p 12).

This makes clear the leading and guiding role of the party of a new type in the revolution and the building of socialism. The party exists and acts in the midst of the people, expressing their will, defending their interests and involving them in active historical creativity. It is inseparably related to the masses but in no case does it rise above them or order them. It persistently convinces them of the accuracy of the strategy and tactics it has formulated on the basis of their own experience. That is why the most important prerequisite for party activities is glasnost, the openness of its policy under which the masses can know everything, judge of everything for themselves and consciously act under the party's guidance, implementing the party's political line as their own. This too is an expression of the democratic nature of Bolshevik Party policy.

Understanding the role of the party as closed, as an essentially sectarian organization of a military type, the purpose of which is to issue orders like an army staff, is totally conflicting with Leninism. Two other important aspects must be mentioned in connection with the study of Lenin's doctrine on the role of the party under the conditions of the revolution.

First, Lenin considered as totally alien the concept of the infallibility of the activities of the Marxist party of the working class, "intrinsic," and allegedly guaranteed by its nature; this was a concept which developed in the 1930s and 1940s and was embodied in the 1970s and beginning of 1980s in a kind of "infallibility complex."

Lenin, never believed that the party is insured against errors. He emphasized, however, that the attitude of a political party toward its errors is one of the most important and most accurate criteria of the seriousness of the party and its actual implementation of obligations toward its own class and toward the toiling masses. Openly to acknowledge an error, to expose its reasons, to analyze the situation which triggered it and to discuss in detail the means of correcting such an error are the features of a serious party which is implementing its obligations; this is what the training and education of the class and, after it, of the masses, means" (vol 41, pp 40-41).

In his work "From the Diary of a Political Journalist," which was written in September 1917, Lenin harshly condemned the error of the bolshevik faction at the Democratic Conference, which had refused to boycott the work of this parliament created by the Provisional

Government for the purpose of directing the revolution toward bourgeois parliamentarianism, and thus preventing the ripening of an armed uprising in the country. Lenin considered this error an inadmissible hesitation which could lead to the failure of the revolution (see vol 34, p 263). He demanded that this error be immediately corrected and immediately expressed a thought of most important basic significance: "A struggling party of the progressive class should not fear errors. What is terrible is to persist in one's error and the in false shame of acknowledging and correcting it" (Ibid.)

Second, we must mention the question of the increased leading role of the party under the conditions of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism. The objective need for this is obvious. Lenin repeatedly emphasized the role of the party as the vanguard of the class, as the leading and conscious force of socialist reorganization in society.

According to Lenin, however, the increased role of the party could be neither an automatic nor an unquestionable process. Conversely, he constantly pointed out the specific conditions which had to be present for the party to be able to implement its historical mission (see *ibid.*, pp 332-333). Unfortunately, in recent years a dogmatic idea developed in our historical and philosophical science on the growth of the leading role the party as an almost automatic process, determined by the objective factors of the scale and complexity of the problems it must solve, the democratization of social relations, the increased role of theory, the worsening and aggravation of the international situation, and so on. In this case the condition of the party and the ability of its authorities and organizations to engage in active efforts, the theoretical level and competence of party cadres, the real situation in the social sciences and other subjective circumstances which actually determined the nature of activities and the party's opportunity truly to influence social phenomena were virtually ignored.

"We know," M. S. Gorbachev noted in an interview granted to the newspaper *Unita*, "that the party cannot rely on any automatic implementation of its leading role. This approach takes us back to Lenin, to the scientific and dialectical understanding of this most political and theoretical problem. In struggling for restructuring, pursuing a policy of democratization and glasnost, surmounting the "obstruction mechanism," and restoring the Leninist understanding of the process of the growth of the party's leading role as an interaction between objective and subjective factors, we thereby enhance the real role played by the CPSU as the leading and guiding force in Soviet society.

The words which Lenin wrote in August-October 1917 played an outstanding role in the preparations for the victory of the October Socialist Revolution. Having theoretically substantiated the need for and real possibility of a proletarian revolution in Russia, and having

formulated its basic tasks and prospects, Lenin undertook to develop a specific plan for armed uprising and made tremendous organizational efforts to create the headquarters of a revolutionary army of the working people and to mobilize all revolutionary forces.

The Bolshevik Party advanced toward the revolution well-armed with theory. Having surmounted certain hesitations displayed by some party members and mobilizing all their efforts, the bolsheviks ensured a decisive victory by the revolutionary people over the forces of counterrevolution and undertook the building of a socialist state.

"The achievements after the October Revolution, in the decades of building socialism, is a grandiose picture," we read in the Address of the CPSU Central Committee to the Soviet people. "However, our time throws a new challenge at us. Under the changed circumstances... once again our society is being tested for its dynamism and ability rapidly to rise on the ladder of progress." The revolutionary accomplishments of the October days of 1917 are not only an inspiring example and a great lesson in solving pressing social problems but also a foundation for inflexible belief in the final success of the changes taking place in our country under the party's leadership.

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### **Juridical Science and Practice Under Conditions of Restructuring**

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[Text] With a collective article published in issue No 14, prepared by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law, this journal opened a debate on topical problems of juridical science and practice. As a help to our readers, let us recall the questions posed by *Kommunist*:

1. How do you rate the role of the law and of legislation in the restructuring of the economy and other areas of social life? What problems related to contemporary socioeconomic and political development should be solved with the maximal use of legal means?
2. What trends of restructuring in the legal area do you consider most relevant? Do you support the idea of overall legal reform? If you do, what should it consist of?
3. What legislative acts must be drafted and passed or amended in order to ensure the further intensification of Soviet democracy, the development of self-government and the broadening of glasnost? In your view, what current legislative acts, departmental regulations and instructions hinder the process of democratization, particularly in the area of economic activities?

4. What should be done for legality in the activities of the militia, the courts and the prosecutor's office to be observed strictly in each case and for all?

5. What should be the role of legal training in contemporary Soviet society under conditions of democratization? Does restructuring require a system of legal education in our country? In your view, what are the problems which confront today law schools—institutes and law departments of universities which train the main cadres of jurists in our country?

6. How to enhance the legal standards of the population and of officials? What must be done to this effect in schools, VUZs, enterprises and state agencies and establishments?

Some of these questions are answered by S. Alekseyev and S. Shirinskiy in this article.

**S. S. Alekseyev, doctor of juridical sciences, professor, head of the department of the theory of the state and law, Sverdlovsk Juridical Institute, laureate of the USSR State Prize:**

1. In my view, unless we organize an efficient legal mechanism, which would secure the radical changes being implemented in the country within the shortest possible time, restructuring will constantly meet with obstacles, its pace will be disturbed and, in a number of areas, it may even be frustrated.

Why? One reason is obvious: it is a question of the need (implemented precisely with the help of the law) to ensure proper organization and discipline. Let us be frank: what kind of profound changes in social life could there be a question of unless we achieve basic order, efficiency and strictness in business relations, executive discipline and ensure the localization and gradual uprooting of negative phenomena and delinquencies? The concern which was voiced at the June 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum is entirely understandable from this viewpoint.

There are even deeper reasons of an essential nature which require a highly efficient legal support of restructuring. We can list at least three of them.

First, after extensive democratization, it is precisely the law, the juridical mechanisms, combined and united with it, that can give restructuring an irreversible nature and take its political strategy to the level of the firm and systematically implemented practical action. In particular, V. I. Lenin noted that an economic policy must be "consolidated legislatively to the greatest possible extent, in order to eliminate any possibility of deviating from it" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 244). The course charted by our party and state of legislating the economic reform is the direct embodiment of this idea.

Second, the law, as conceived by the founders of scientific communism, is a significant social force. It is an irreplaceable instrument which can eliminate the obstruction mechanism. The law is characterized by features (universal mandatory nature, clear definition of content, and governmental backing of formulated steps), which enable us to set reliable guarantees against any arbitrary bureaucratic actions and organize an efficient system of measures of responsibility.

Third, it is precisely Soviet law and its norms and institutions that are the forms within and through which the main tasks of restructuring are implemented: increased democracy, use of economic management methods and enhancement of the human factor, for the main feature of the law as a social regulator consists, precisely, of the fact that it operates through legal means, within the limits needed by society, strictly separating the socially justified freedom of behavior, independence and initiative from negative phenomena, such as arbitrariness, illegality and criminality.

Marxist-Leninist theory has substantiated a realistic and truly scientific approach to the law. Control through the law is a powerful stabilizing factor, called upon to codify existing relations within society on the basis of a steady legal foundation, making them universal and universally mandatory.

However, the law can perform more complex functions as well. When radical changes are taking place with the help of the law and the entire arsenal of juridical means, there is a renovation of social life and juridical legislation as a form of decisive and radical measures it carries, like the measures themselves, has a revolutionary, a transforming feature. Marx himself noted that with the help of the law and juridically, some economic problems can be solved "in one fell swoop," describing such application as a "revolutionary method" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 309).

2. I favor a general legal reform. This must be a profound, comprehensive, all-embracing reform, so that our juridical system may be made fully consistent with the policy and practice of restructuring. This requires, above all, a certain reinterpretation of the very understanding of the law, a change in juridical ways of thinking. The prevalence of command, of administrative-power management methods, and of "proscribing" and "prohibiting" trends led to the fact that an interpretation of the law developed in public opinion and among scientists and asserted itself quite strongly, that is essentially oriented toward injunctions, prohibitions, penalties, and state-coercive and criminal-legal measures. Naturally, the efficient use of respective state coercive means and institutions retains its essential significance to this day: the struggle against delinquencies and ensuring strict discipline remain important state tasks. However, we must not forget that the law is a complex and comprehensive phenomenon. Components which ensure the

freedom of the people and the possibility of their creative activities play an important role within it. Under the conditions of restructuring this aspect of the law becomes essential. As to the essence of the reform, in my view it should consist of changing the very principle of regulating social relations. The procedure of legal regulation which developed in the past was one in which individuals and organizations had the right to engage, with few exceptions, only in actions which were directly allowed by the law. This led to the publication of a number of instructions, memoranda and other departmental documents which tried to regulate all and everyone. Under these circumstances initiative was fettered in all possible areas of social life, for each new phenomenon had to be legalized in order to be given a green light.

Our time demands an essentially different structure of juridical control, a different, if one may say so, legal idea. Its essence is that under the conditions of strict discipline and high degree of organization, to develop the "general permissible" principles according to which the activities of organizations, labor collectives and individual citizens will be based on the rule that "anything which is not forbidden by the law is allowed," an idea which was formulated, as a general legal principle, at the June Plenum.

An important feature in an overall legal reform is refining the functions of state authorities and officials and strictly regulating them (yes, precisely, strictly regulating them!). The essence of bureaucratic distortions in management is found precisely in the fact that administrative functions acquire a broad and not clearly delineated and, sometimes, even uncontrollable nature; in this case any "order" becomes mandatory to those at whom it is directed. With the development and strengthening of socialist legality, the only justified procedure is the one in which the rights of state authorities and officials, in Lenin's words, "are enumerated with total accuracy" (op cit., vol 2, p 285).

An important aspect of the legal reform is broadening the rights of citizens and their collectives and strengthening their respective guarantees. However, the broadening of rights becomes a reality only when it has reliable juridical support. This applies, above all, to democratic rights and freedoms, the need for the further juridical strengthening of which was mentioned at the 27th Party Congress and the CPSU Central Committee Resolution "On Further Strengthening Socialist Legality and Order and Increasing the Protection of the Rights and Legitimate Interests of Citizens." What makes this even more necessary is that in the past there was an essential underestimating by our science and propaganda of juridical means and mechanisms. The adopted formula to the effect that the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens are ensured by the socialist system itself occasionally created the idea that this was quite adequate and that nothing else was required.

A number of crucial problems remain in the area of legal guarantees of citizens' rights. One of them is defining the legal status and guarantees of the rights of citizens to material goods obtained (fully or partially) out of social consumption funds. The wide range of such rights (education, health care, training, social security, housing, sanatorium-resort treatment, etc.), some negative trends in their use, abuses, and other violations of social justice require streamlining and strict regulating of relations arising in this area.

3. A general legal reform includes a revision and updating of our entire legislative system. We believe that here as well it should be a question above all of a substantial reorientation of the very content of current legislation and the enactment of the type of control system which would give the economy the dynamism it needs and provide scope for the initiative and creativity of the masses and for socialist enterprise.

Essentially, in accordance with the resolutions of the 27th Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums, such reform has already been initiated. A number of important laws and CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees have already been passed and others are being actively drafted and prepared for nationwide discussion.

However, there is something else that I would like to emphasize in particular. In drafting new legislative and other legal acts it is of essential importance to bear in mind above all a sort of "central points," which are the leading, the fundamental laws which, on the basis of the USSR Constitution, would strengthen the principles of restructuring, define the principles of legal control and establish a general trend for and content of all other laws.

Let us cite as an example legislation in the area of the national economy. The USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) was passed, and other important laws are ready for promulgation. Civil legislation is being updated. But is all of this sufficient?

In my view, unquestionably, all of these essentially important steps create a proper foundation for the functioning of the juridical mechanism under the new economic management conditions. So far, however, there are too few of them in order comprehensively to ensure an upturn in our economic system. Furthermore, passed and implemented separately from each other, they could turn out to be helpless and, above all, could be absorbed by the current regulatory system and adapted to the old style of economic management. The Law on the State Enterprise, which is of basic significance, affects the decisive unit. However, this is merely a single unit rather than the overall national economy. Consequently, even this law does not provide general and uniform principles for legislatively regulating the national economy and does not raise economic legislation to a qualitatively new standard.

This problem can be solved, as has already been suggested by the legal public and science, with a law on the foundations of national economic management. Its main feature should be a clear codification of the basic concepts of the foundations of economic activities under the conditions of cost accounting, socialist enterprise, collective contracting, standardization methods, etc. It should clearly express the legal ideas which pertain to the demands of restructuring, the essentially general permissible nature of regulations governing enterprises and all participants in economic activities, clear stipulations of the rights of economic management authorities and efficient utilization of civil-law institutions. In other words, it should set strictly demarcated juridical standards for the concepts formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress and the June Central Committee Plenum on problems of economic management. In my view, it would be inexpedient to postpone the adoption of such a law, the more so since developments and materials pertaining to them are already extant.

6. Problems of legal standards are of the greatest possible importance. they apply not only to the legal knowledge of the population but also to the activities of courts, the militia, the prosecutor's office and other law enforcement authorities and to improving the quality of their work and their cadre policy.

A number of problems exist in this area. We must begin, however, with taking proper note of the real situation. Let us be frank: despite the clarity and accuracy of our conceptual positions, our legal standards remain low. This can be said for the entire population in the country as well as the majority of our governmental apparatus.

What is necessary in order radically to change the developing situation?

The first thing is to review our attitude toward the legal science and to change its social status. Unfortunately, we still frequently must prove that juridical science is as much a social science as any other. Let us note that V. I. Lenin rated it very highly and that today, under the conditions of restructuring, it will be playing an increasingly noticeable role. It is noteworthy that recently *Kommunist* wrote of the importance of the legal sciences and the need to raise them to a higher quality level. It was emphasized that "the time has come to realize the true value of the juridical form of social relations, and of the all-round development and efficient utilization of the humanistic and moral potential of socialist law. Material progress cannot be achieved, the normal functioning of the material production process and the institutions of political democracy cannot be ensured, efficient management cannot be organized and the development of the individual cannot be stimulated without law, legality and justice."

The second is the need purposefully to develop education, a kind of universal legal training, which directly stems from the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

In this area the main feature is the organization of legal studies in secondary schools. In particular, we must reorganize the course on "Foundations of the Soviet State and Law," which is being taught in a spirit of enthusiastic-academic tonality, into a moral-legal subject entitled "Foundations of Legal Knowledge." What would be its main task? To provide the students with the possibility of discussing specific situations in life. It must combine moral with legal problems and develop in the students a proper concept of basic human and socialist moral-legal values and fundamental principles of behavioral standards and a humane attitude toward people. Our leading legal scientists could write a textbook for secondary schools in which the wealth and comprehensiveness of socialist legal and moral standards would be revealed along with their importance to the social life of the country, which has taken the path of new revolutionary change.

**S. F. Shirinskiy, member of the Belgorod Oblast Bar Collegium, candidate of juridical sciences:**

3. In my view, the first thing must be a major review of Soviet criminal legislation. A number of problems exist in that area. Following are some of them:

In drafting the new codes of union republics, we must "delete" from them misdemeanors which should not be matters for the courts. Many such "borderline" actions have been included in the criminal codes. Frequently judicial errors are the result of the fact that a number of articles have not been clearly defined and can be interpreted arbitrarily.

Furthermore, a comparative study of the criminal codes of union republics indicates that they handle different crimes differently. Thus, in the RSFSR a person guilty of premeditated murder may be sentenced to a jail term from 3 to 10 years; in the Ukraine the term for the same type of crime is from 7 to 15 years. It is difficult to explain such a great disparity. Many other such paradoxes exist. Criminal legislation must be significantly standardized and cleared from disparities.

Article 158 of the USSR Constitution stipulates that the accused has the right to defense counsel. The clarity of this formulation is unquestionable. However, procedural law violates the interests of accused whose cases are being investigated. No lawyer is admitted to participate in the investigation although the investigative authorities may be dealing with severe crimes in which the accused frequently and urgently needs to have his legitimate rights and interests protected. This prohibition must be lifted in the new legislation.

4. Guaranteeing the strict observance of legality in the activities of law enforcement authorities is an important and difficult task. On the basis of my long experience as

a criminal investigation inspector, people's assessor, people's judge and, finally, attorney, I am aware of an entire set of problems in this area, awaiting their solution.

One of them is ensuring the independence of the personnel of such authorities from departmental and local influence. Some party authorities obviously assume that they have the right to interfere in the professional activities of judges. An objection voiced by a judge is sometimes interpreted as nonparty behavior and the result of principle-mindedness on the part of a judge frequently is that the "disobedient" judge is no longer recommended for re-election. Article 155 of the USSR Constitution stipulates that "judges and people's assessors are independent and are subordinate only to the law." This law is mandatory to all. The true independence of the courts will enhance their authority in the eyes of the people and the judges themselves will finally be able to work calmly, not looking over their shoulder or making deals with their own conscience. The clear stipulation exists that all party organizations must operate within the framework of the USSR Constitution (Article 6). Nonetheless, as in the past, in the course of their administrative activities, some party managers interpret the concept of "political guidance" as directly interfering with the work of the courts.

According to the law, in court people's assessors are the equals of professional judges. Furthermore, at conferences on passing sentence they must be the first to cast their vote and it is only after them, in order to avoid any use of pressure, that the president of the court, i.e., the judge, casts his own. The decision is based on majority vote. This procedure creates the necessary prerequisites for a truly democratic resolution of court cases. In practice, however, as has been repeatedly noted by the USSR Supreme Court, the role of the people's assessors is frequently inconsistent with the law. Some of them remain passive, unaware of their rights and obligations, for which reason they feel insecure and do what they are told by the judge. This violates the principle of equality of people's assessors and judges and creates the opinion that the case is decided not by three but by a single judge. There have been frequent complaints by assessors (after the verdict has been passed) to the effect that someone was given excessively harsh punishment, or that some people have been given simply the wrong sentence. However, they personally tried the case! Consequently, in the conference room as well they did not behave according to the law and their own convictions and signed a sentence which was essentially drafted by the judge.

For the time being, unfortunately, the people's assessors are not considered as responsible as professional judges for illegal sentencing or miscarriages of justice. Making them equally responsible will change many things in the administration of justice and would make it necessary to elect as people's assessors principle-minded, responsible

and legally knowledgeable people. This would immediately raise the question of their proper training. Currently assessors attend quarterly seminars, the usefulness of which is very small. They deal with subjects quite remote from the real practice of the application of the law. Matters are somewhat better in areas where departments for people's assessors operate in people's universities. I believe that the Ministry of Justice should pay greater attention to the training of people's assessors and organize such training on a firm basis.

Suggestions have been voiced in the press on broadening the judicial collegium by increasing the number of people's assessors. These suggestions are, unquestionably, relevant. However, at this point a major stipulation must be voiced. I believe that what matters most is not the number of judges but their training. If the standards of legal training and of general education of many assessors remains unchanged no six or twelve men would improve the justice system.

The status of investigations must be reviewed as well. They must no longer be under the jurisdiction of the prosecutor's office. It would be expedient for that office to supervise investigations, for otherwise it would be difficult to eliminate departmental "reciprocal insurance:" since the prosecutor is interested in "impeccable" work, he frequently encourages the sentencing of citizens and does appeal miscarriages of justice.

Another major problem is that of the acquittal of the defendant. Unfortunately, the existing practice is that if the question of acquittal arises, the case is sent back for further investigation. Although the court has determined that the defendant is not guilty there is no acquittal. Why is this? The reason is that in frequent cases the court "covers" for the investigating and prosecuting who have been wrong. The fear of publicly acknowledging the innocence of a defendant, i.e., of admitting the low professional or malicious intent of an investigation is very harmful to society. This is the reason for the widespread lack of faith in the possibility of acquittal and the stereotyped thought that "if you are tried you will be sentenced." This stereotype must be firmly eliminated. The court must be the final, the supreme instance in which justice is administered openly. This role of the court was always emphasized by V. I. Lenin. In addressing the 10th RKP(b) Congress, he explained to the delegates that "if Drozhzhin is taken to court, the precise reason is to prove that he is innocent.... Reprimands and intrigues occur frequently and proving their falseness through the courts is entirely justified" (op cit., vol 43, p 74). The legal acquittal of an innocent person is of major political and educational-preventive significance, instilling in the people confidence in the fairness of Soviet courts.

A "procedure" exists according to which the work of a court is assessed by the outcome of the criminal cases it has tried. Regular sentencing means that the court is doing good work and frequent cases of overruling or



amending a sentence indicate poor work. Here as well cunning is displayed. Naturally, in the course of appellate court reviews many illegal sentences are set aside but this does not affect the "indicators." We begin with an improper sentencing which is passed "for the record," and only then is the sentence appealed, set aside or amended, although this could have been done by the first instance court. The law must not be violated for the sake of a good record sentencing, for this involves human suffering!

The pursuit after a good sentencing record began in the 1970s, when articles began to appear in the press, written by legal authorities, according to whom it is precisely the lower courts which can make a right decision, for "they can see better, being on the spot." Statistical figures on sentencing records (in excess of 96 percent) indicate that they do not correspond to reality. The activities of some courts operating under the new conditions indicate that sentences were not overturned in 75 percent of the cases. The only stipulations in the justice system are those of the law. Any illegal, unjustified and unfair sentence must be mandatorily overturned by the appellate court. The upholding of such a sentence borders on crime and must entail the strictest possible personal responsibility of all members of the judicial collegium.

Frequent judicial errors have been made, as confirmed by appellate and supervisory practice and citizens' complaints. However, formalism remains strong, sometimes so strong as to create in the citizens a feeling of hopelessness. The deep processes of restructuring must affect the activities of all authorities involved with the law. This is guaranteed by extensive glasnost, which includes the open publishing of statistics on the administration of justice.

Some existing investigative and judicial practices also adversely affect the efficiency of the struggle against crime. The policy pursued in the field of crime is clear: a decisive struggle must be waged against it and all delinquency must be prevented. However, this does not mean a policy of indiscriminate sentencing of all defendants to jail terms. It is inexpedient to deprive first offenders of their freedom for a misdemeanors, after they have repented and have voluntarily compensated for any material damage they have caused and are engaged in socially useful labor. The sentence of deprivation of freedom must be applied particularly cautiously in the case of minors. Practical experience indicates that, as a rule, individuals whose penalty does not involve deprivation of freedom are not repeaters. Recidivism is substantially more frequent among those who have "served time." One of the reasons is the fact that felons cannot find jobs immediately (they are simply not hired). Such people have frequently no housing, having lost their old premises. Once again, they fall back on crime.

Another matter of concern is the organization itself of the influence which corrective labor has on the sentenced felons. The courts have no connection with to places of

detention and the judges have no more than a passing idea of the actual life of the inmates, their education, interrelationships and relations between them and the prison administration. Many prosecutors meet with inmates only formally. If a prosecutor would have a clear idea of the conditions under which a specific inmate is kept and educated, he would hardly insist on deprivation of freedom for minor crimes.

Imposing a punishment is a difficult matter. Today a new approach and reliable scientific recommendations are needed in this area.

5. The problem of personnel of legal enforcement authorities is a perennially topical one. Secondary specialized and higher educational institutions are where legal cadres are trained. However, their graduates by no means always and in everything meet professional and moral requirements.

Today legal training must be restructured. University training is 5 years and institute training, 4. After graduation, a young specialist has 1 year of practical training. This is a long training period and the expense to the state is tremendous. It has been noted, however, that specialists who graduate from an institute are better prepared for practical and, in particular, investigative work compared to university graduates. The reasons for this are numerous and one of them is early specialization, which is not practiced by the universities, and in which disciplines of a general humanitarian nature account for a significant percentage of the curriculum. I believe that the future specialist must be trained in the course of the entire period of his studies, rather than in the final years. This will give him a sound professional knowledge of his chosen profession and psychologically prepare the student for his future job.

Particular attention should be paid to the training of people's judges. This is the top of the service ladder in the law enforcement system. That is why it must be held only by experienced and knowledgeable jurists who know about life not from textbooks. I believe that a young specialist should be recommended for the position of people's judge only in exceptional cases. Practical training by working in the militia, the prosecutor's office or in the legal system should be one of the prerequisites for assigning someone to this exceptionally responsible position (other than his age).

6. Improving the legal standards of the population greatly depends on its practical participation in upholding the law and on the way the law is applied by law enforcement and judicial authorities.

The CPSU program stipulates that in the struggle against crime and the prevention of delinquencies, the law enforcement authorities must rely on public support. In the 1970s the public was extensively drawn into the struggle against crime, after which its involvement was increasingly reduced. An important institution such as



release on probation with closing the criminal case virtually disappeared. Even insignificant misdemeanors are now tried in court. Is this sensible? Naturally, during the period of stagnation here as well there was a great deal of formalism and ostentation rather than actual re-education of delinquents. Today, however, the situation is changing radically and labor collectives are becoming more independent and better organized.

Assizes have a great education potential. They broaden the openness of trials; truth is established and punishment is meted out in front of the public. Practical experience indicates, however, that so-called show trials frequently end in meting obviously excessive penalties. The belief develops in public opinion that if someone is tried outside the court's premises, the sentence is bound to be harsher. We must not allow the place of the trial to be decisive in determining the fate of the defendant. In practice, some judges continue to impose harsher penalties if cases are tried outside court premises as well as when trials are televised. Many people remember the "show trials" of 50 years ago and the way in which ostentation, as displayed not all that long ago, had also penetrated, alas, the area of justice. A topical problem such as this is not only ignored "from above" but, conversely, constant "steps are being taken" to increase the number of such trials!

The purpose of a case tried in assizes is, above all, preventive: to determine the reasons and conditions leading to crime and take steps for their elimination. As a specific case is tried the people learn how to act in accordance with the law, and everyone mentally analyzes the events. A just penalty strengthens the power of prevention. If the sentence is unfair, excessive or, worse, if the court has failed to convince the public of the culpability of the defendant but has nevertheless sentenced him, such a trial can do nothing but harm. As long as a court is guided by any criteria other than the law there can be no question of legality, justice or democracy.

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### Education: Need for Change

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[Article by Valentin Vasilyevich Kumarin, candidate of pedagogical sciences, head of laboratory, USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences Scientific Research Institute of General Problems of Education]

[Text] I am looking at an old letter which was published in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* almost 9 years ago. It was written by secondary school seniors from Vilnyus. What

singles this letter out among the many others written in the same spirit is that it was answered by the then president of the USSR APN.

The students write that excessive and incomprehensible studies have made school life unbearable. "If this were to continue, the secondary schools would be graduating psychos rather than comprehensively developed individuals." Although the answer of the president was lengthy, it could be reduced essentially to the folk wisdom that "The root of learning is bitter but the fruit is sweet."

A reform of secondary schools is currently taking place. Some things are being changed for the better. Productive work is being organized, perhaps not everywhere but nonetheless to a certain extent. The number of children starting school at age 6 is increasing. Material facilities are improving, albeit slowly. Nonetheless, in terms of the main feature—the result—of training and upbringing, for the time being changes remain imperceptible. I was shown by the editors of *Sobesednik*, a popular youth publication, a selection of letters typical of today's mail dealing with school problems. Let me quote from one of them: "The 20th graduating class in our school does not include a single person with solid knowledge. To put it bluntly, we have no knowledge in general. We are the latest products of infantilism.... Who will bear responsibility for this? Someone should be punished. This is causing material and moral harm to society in general. Today every one of us individually is a profoundly unhappy person."

Well, shall we quote once again the bitter root and the sweet fruit? Perhaps it is time to look deeper into the matter. For example, let us consider the concepts of restructuring as they affect the principles of training and upbringing. The point was made at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum that these principles, among others, had been "interpreted simplistically, and their theoretical depth and significance had been frequently emasculated." We know that the most important principle in pedagogical theory and practice is that of a unified school, unified at training and upbringing, and collective upbringing. It is on this that we shall focus our attention.

### Unified or Uniform?

Let us begin with the principle of the unified school as the most essential feature in defining the structure of curriculums and training programs and the organization of the training process. As early as 1918 the founders of the Soviet school system wrote: "What does it mean that the school must be unified? It means that the entire system of ordinary schools, from kindergarten to university, must be a single school, one continuous ladder. It means that all children must enter the same type of school and begin their education in the same way, that all of them have the right to go up the ladder to its highest

rungs" ("Basic Principles of the Unified Labor School," see "Narodnoye Obrazovanye v SSSR" [Public Education in the USSR]. A collection of documents, 1917-1973).

And here is the current interpretation of the same principle: "The unity of secondary general education schools ensures the commonality of principles in the organization of the training and education process, which is one in terms of the basis of its content and the level of general secondary training, throughout the territory of the USSR, taking comprehensively into consideration the national features of the population of union republics (draft Statutes of Secondary Education Schools). With minor differences, this formulation may be found in all textbooks on education.

Which of these interpretations is more accurate? If we think about it, naturally, the former. It does not include even a hint of any "unified content and unified level of general secondary education." It is only primary education that is unified. Subsequently, uniformity yields to variety. "The state needs specialists. The adolescents themselves clearly show different inclinations and gifts.... That is why after the students have reached a certain age, the age of 14, they may be separated into several areas or groups...." ("Basic Principles of the Unified Labor School").

As we may see, in the first interpretation the social and biological aspects are in a state of dialectical unity. In order for everyone who enters school to rise to the highest level of education he must, figuratively speaking, use a ladder "made" especially for him.

The second interpretation is essentially metaphysical. Its authors, thinking in accordance with a simplified methodological system, absolutized the "unified" concept, extending it to the content of the training and thus letting the multi-million strong mass of children to climb up the same type of ladder. They fail to notice that the single content of training is incompatible with differences in natural inclinations and interests of school students. As a result, the principles of unity were actually emasculated.

I have long stopped understanding my colleagues who have specialized in problems of foreign education. They have traveled the world over. They study foreign experience but all they bring home are negative impressions. Does a class-oriented approach mean that anything that is "not ours" must be indiscriminately abused and defamed? Let us recall Lenin's behest: "We must draw with both hands from what is good abroad: A Soviet system plus Prussian order in the railroads plus American technology and organization of trusts plus American public education, etc., etc. equals socialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 550). What is the reason, for example, that for a number of years the elective system which is widespread in schools in the United States and several other developed countries is abused? Look, they say, at the ultimate

results: In the FRG about 40 percent of the students take physics, some 30 percent study physics in England and even less than that, 20 percent, in the United States. And in our country we have a round 100 percent. But let us honestly answer: What is better: 20 percent who know the subject or 100 percent who have a superficial idea of it?

The harm caused by such criticism is obvious. Consciously or subconsciously it imposes a taboo on progressive school technologies used abroad. The content of the training which, in the bourgeois school, is largely imbued with anti-Sovietism and anticommunism, is a different matter. This is not a false target and should be subjected to the withering fire of intelligently formulated criticism, based on our class positions.

It is only the superficial interpretation of the principle of a unified school that can explain the strange phenomenon of the regular ebb and flow phenomena in drafting curriculums. They are either made heavier or lighter, or made more complex or simplified. No common curriculum denominator for all children can be found. The usefulness and efficiency of this work could be compared to attempts to invent perpetual motion, for it is obvious that in order for society not to be impoverished intellectually and to be able to create prerequisites for the comprehensive development of the individual, in no case should it allow any equalization in education. All efforts and all the necessary steps should be made and taken so that anyone would have the possibility to reach the peak above all in a specific area of knowledge. The more such peaks there are, the richer and more varied will become the overall knowledge, the bearer of which can only be society at large.

After grammar school, the young Americans are offered choices of more than 200 different subjects. Why not make use of this experience in our schools? Until the sixth and seventh grade all subjects are the same. Subsequently uniformity applies to the native language, literature, history, social science and physical culture. The rest, within the allocated school time, is optional: If you are more capable in some area, this is what you should study (naturally, this curriculum as well should be mandatory). Applied subjects, which lead straight to highly productive work in industry, agriculture and services should be considered as significant as the loftiest theoretical subjects. A pair of golden hands is as valuable as a bright mind. Taking the abilities and needs of the children into consideration means truly implementing the principle of the unified school. It is only in this case that every student will be given access to a first-rate education.

### Combined Pedagogy

If we say that the principle of unity of training and education is interpreted today and implemented as taught by Socrates and Plato, no one would believe it. Nonetheless, such is the case. More than 2,000 years ago,

in his philosophical sermons, Socrates taught that "universal knowledge" is the most powerful factor in the moral shaping of the person. A person who knows what virtue means is bound to be good. He will try to acquire virtues as naturally as a falling rock rushes to the ground. The same view was expressed by Plato, who was Socrates's student. Here is an excerpt from "Protagora," in which Plato, using even a certain challenge, expresses his pedagogical credo: "When (parents) send (children) to school, they are ordering the teacher to be much more concerned with the behavior of the children than with their alphabet or with playing an instrument: This view is shared by the teacher who is concerned, after the children have learned how to read and are ready to understand what is being written, to be familiar with the sounds only: They sit the children on benches, read the poetry of good poets and force them to memorize them with their many thoughts and instructive stories, praises and glorifications of ancient valorous men, so that, competing with them, the child will emulate them and try to become like them."

Let us now compare these views with those which, for decades, have been roaming from one textbook on education to another and which are set as the law in the draft new school statutes: "The lesson is the main form of organization of the training and educational process in the school." But what does this combination of words "training-educational" mean? Naturally, the common answer will be training plus education. Does this mean that the lesson is the main form of organization not only of the training but also of the education process?

As we can see, here the similarity is complete. In both cases knowledge is proclaimed as the main means of spiritual molding of the individual. Ideological maturity, outlook, respect for the law, goodness, truthfulness, industriousness, honesty, daring, principle-mindedness and others are all allegedly the result of the mastery of concepts and views.

How to explain this strange phenomenon? On the one hand, we seem to agree with Lenin, who said that "We would not believe in training, education and upbringing had it been provided only in the schools and alienated from tempestuous life" (op. cit., vol 41, p 313); on the other, we have long been squeezing everything not only in the school and the classroom but even in the lesson, surrendering education to words. In its time, pedagogy experienced the same difficulty as genetics. Instead of development, a regression occurred in it. Naturally, such regression was concealed behind Marxist-Leninist phraseology without, however, changing the essence of the matter. Step by step education surrendered its positions to which it had been led by N. K. Krupskaya, A. V. Lunacharskiy and A. S. Makarenko. In the 1950s the concept of "educational training" had firmly been established in it. And whereas genetics found within itself the strength to break the fetters of Lysenkovism, pedagogy was unable to do so. For several decades the logic of

"educational training" imbued all the pores of the body of public education. It became the determining factor in pedagogical thinking on the part of theoreticians and practical workers.

Following is a literal record of a lesson, which could be considered fundamental to such logic. The topic of the lesson was the spelling of the unaccented vowel. What was demanded of the teacher, however, was to deal not only with learning but also with the main educational problems in the course of the lesson. That is why the plan for the lesson included three objectives: training—to teach the children accurately to spell unstressed vowels; educational—to develop love for agriculture (!); development—to teach the children how to think logically.

The prop for the lesson was a poster on which the word "cow" had been written, and a drawing of a cow.

In looking at the poster the children caught the essence of it quite rapidly: the reason for which all the letters were written in red and only the letter "o" was in black. This meant, the second graders answered, that the letter "o" was part of the word "cow" although the sound was an "a." The logic of recognition and of the lesson demanded that the first step be followed by a second, so that the children may be given an exercise in which they would identify other words with unstressed vowels, in a dictation. However, the teacher moved to the second objective of the lesson.

"Children, what does this drawing represent?"

"A cow."

"What can you tell me about a cow?"

"It has horns."

"True. What else?"

"It has hooves on its legs."

"Correct. But what is the most important thing in the cow?"

"The body.... The head."

"No, children, think better" (problem training).

Obviously unable to understand what the teacher wanted, the children listed everything they could see. Finally, someone noted the udder.

The teacher sighed a sigh of relief:

"Finally, you found it. Why is the udder the most important part of the cow?"

"Because that is where the milk collects."

"Right, children. And who gives you every day a glass of milk? Who takes care of you?"

"The cow."

The blood drains off the face of the teacher. She looks at the children dumb-founded. Uneasy, the children begin to fidget behind their desks.

"Let us think. Do you get your milk straight from the cow?"

"From the kolkhoz members! The milkmaids!"

"Right! What do you think, is it honorable to work in agriculture?"

"It is!"

"Very well. So, you too will gladly work in the fields."

The teacher goes back to the lesson target.

"Well, we have 10 minutes left. Let us take some dictation."

The children write a short dictation with words involving unstressed vowels. The results are checked. They are that one-half of the class has written "cow" with the letter "a." This is entirely understandable. Virtually all cognitive associations in the minds of the second graders had been disrupted. In sweating over their dictation, they had been thinking about udders, hooves and kolkhozes. The result is chaos instead of knowledge and parody instead of education. It is time to realize that in lessons of physics, chemistry, biology, history and social science, the students can acquire conceptual knowledge if the lessons are taught in accordance with the rules of scientific teaching. Above all, however, convictions cannot be developed without being based on life, on reality. The faultiness of the system (feelings come from thoughts and principles and actions come from feelings) lies precisely in the fact that it lacks the link known as practice. The Marxist formula is from knowledge to practice and from practice to convictions.

With brilliant simplicity and quite graphically V. I. Lenin described the mechanism through which convictions are shaped. In explaining to the young the meaning of communism, and repeatedly emphasizing that communism cannot be learned from books and that the bookish knowledge of communism trains dogmatists and braggards, Lenin said: "Common toil cannot be organized immediately. This is impossible. It does not fall from the sky. It must be earned, experienced and created. It is created in the course of the struggle. This is not a question of an old book which no one would trust. It is a question of one's own experience" (op. cit., vol 41, p 314). Vladimir Ilich further cites an example which

indicates that even illiterate people can develop accurate convictions and act in accordance with such convictions on the basis of personal experience.

Last year all schools in the Russian federation received a letter of instructions entitled "On Intensifying Anti-Alcohol Education." In order to uproot such a major social ill, the RSFSR Ministry of Education recommended that "Problems of anti-alcohol propaganda and the condemnation of drunkenness...must be mandatorily included in the process of the study of specific works of fiction." But how to do it? The authors of the letter answer as follows: "Thus, in the fourth grade, in the study of the story 'Mumu,' the attention of the students should be drawn on the negative features of the influence of alcohol on human behavior, which create a feeling of disgust in Gerasim in the episode of Tatyana's pretended intoxication."

"Great opportunities," the letter goes on to say, "in developing a negative attitude toward drunkenness may be found in N. V. Gogol's 'Inspector General,' and in the works of N. A. Nekrasov, his 'Railroad,' in particular."

Teachers of literature are asked to undertake a "purposeful analysis" of works such as "Grief," and "Hero of Our Time."

The advice in the case of Gorkiy's novel "Mother" is "to emphasize the possibility and need of healing the drunken embittered existence of anyone."

I have in front of me a beautifully presented book in a deep red cover entitled "Kommunisticheskoye Vospitaniye Uchashchikhsya" [The Communist Upbringing of Students]. Let us look at its table of contents: "Ideological-Moral Upbringing of Students Through Physical Culture;" "The Communist Education of Students in the Teaching of Geography;" "Link With the Practice of Building Communism in the Teaching of English;" "The Communist Education of Students in the Course on Biology;" "The Patriotic Education of the Students in the Study of Local Flora in the Botany Course for the 5th and 6th Grades," and so on, and so forth.

Indeed, such "positive examples in solving the problem of the educational aspect of the lesson" are as many as one could wish. There are reams of dissertations on "education in the process of instruction." For some reason, however, no one undertakes to study the reasons for formalism, whitewashing, and percentage-mania. These are not considered suitable dissertation topics.

The emphasis on verbal upbringing can be clearly traced also in the fact that texts of works of fiction are used for purposes of dictation or grammatical analysis by school students. The idea is that in identifying a predicate and a subject in a sentence by Chekhov or Turgenev, the students will not only learn grammar but will also experience an esthetic and moral influence. Meanwhile, clever method workers had noted as early as the 19th

century that to offer texts of classics for grammatical vivisection is like seeing in the works of great architects nothing but the bricks and cement.

In cautioning against the terrible danger of a verbal education, A.S. Makarenko wrote: "The most persistent instilling in a person of praiseworthy thoughts and knowledge is a waste of time and, at best, the result is either hypocrisy or parroting. Awareness must be the result of experience, the result of numerous social exercises. It is only then that it becomes valuable.... An awareness not based on experience, although expressed in long statements is, to begin with, weak; second, it is isolated and unable to turn in any kind of practical action. That is what is the most dangerous to our society."

In creating the illusion that basic educational problems are solved with a lesson, the concept of "educational training" brought about not simply the underestimating of the collective, without which education in our society is inconceivable, but also actually removed it from the process of shaping the person. Instead of a collective created on the basis of the complex sociopedagogical and psychological systems developed by A.S. Makarenko, the emphasis has been on the so-called collective forms of training. The logic is the same. In starting to explain the material, the teacher formulates the problem which will develop in the entire class a certain attitude toward the subject: interest and desire to understand the new concepts. Since the cognitive assignment is not set to the individual student but the entire class, the students will allegedly solve it together and work collectively. Meanwhile, common sense indicates that the elements of collectivism in solving a problem by the class jointly, which in fact means simply the same cognitive problem, is nothing other than going to the public cafeteria for lunch. Anyone eating in the cafeteria also solves a common problem: the satisfaction of hunger. The fact that people are eating jointly may lead some people even to eat more and the quality of the food may improve. Nonetheless, the main objective of the meal is by no means achieved through collective methods. In order to leave the cafeteria sated, the customer acts individually. The same applies to the mastery of knowledge. However "common" the cognitive problem may be, and however active the entire class may be, one does not become more intelligent by using someone else's mind any more than one can sate one's own hunger with the food consumed by someone else. That is precisely why the teachers demand of the children "Do not look at your neighbor! Do not crib! Do your own work!" and so on.

Generally speaking, it should be borne in mind that the "common" cognitive problem is not a project which can be done only through joint efforts. A student good in mathematics can solve a difficult problem in 30 minutes, while 10 other students would not solve it even in 2 hours and even if they work "collectively." Such is the specific nature of mental labor and had it been different, we would not have needed people like Newton, Lomonosov or Makarenko.

The idea is that by training together, students in the senior grades can easily realize that individual success depends on joint work in class. What they realize easily is that if in class not everyone answers well the material is covered more slowly. It is the collective that suffers from this, for even good students under such circumstances acquire less knowledge than they could otherwise. The class suffers when an individual student works poorly or, in other words, can figure out things more slowly.

But what to do if the student is unable to figure out things quickly? Should he be subjected to the influence of the collective? Should public opinion pressure him? Should the rights of the collective be protected from the "negligent" student? This precisely is what is occasionally done, not realizing that in this case real collectivism is replaced by gross and cruel pseudocollectivism.

Such are the twists of a combined education. Our failure to see them is due exclusively to the fact that we do not take off the blinkers of this "educational training."

#### **Education Within the Collective...Without the Collective**

Although the principle is there, the matter involving the collective itself is more complex. Makarenko's unique creation has been dismantled brick by brick. All that is left of the theory he developed is the terminology. It is used like a label: It is put on all sorts of forgeries in order to present them as the creative development of great ideas.

A forgery, however, remains a forgery. It immediately betrays itself with its overblown verbal emphasis, neglectful attitude toward the development of habits, immature public opinion, meaningless self-governing activities, and formalism in the life of the Komsomol and Pioneer organizations. Inherent in a fake collective are the embryonic status of democracy, poor contacts among students of different age groups, lack of traditions, lack of exigency and respect and inability to influence the family. It is totally deprived of the ability unobtrusively but efficiently to influence the school life of the students. Its unmistakable symptoms are complaints of lack of help by the enterprise, the ZhEK, the party raykom, the rayon executive committee, the military unit or other sponsors.

It is no accident that the collective has been described as the main cell of the socialist society. It is precisely here that a person directly participates in setting the style and tenor of our life. It is here that he has the opportunity personally to create democracy, glasnost, self-government, attitudes of friendship and comradeship, mutual exigency, discipline, goodness and conscientiousness. It is within this socialist microworld that the spirit of collectivism, which is unique in terms of nobility and beauty and inherent only in us, a spirit which teaches everyone the fact that personal interest may not prevail over the common interest.

I cannot agree with the view that the school merely reflects some kind of average condition in the development of society: If society suffers from a shortcoming, the same shortcoming should afflict the school. I feel in this formulation of the matter a smattering of "opportunism." Naturally, in Makarenko's time the nature of social development was complex. However, the way of life in the collective he headed was described by A. M. Gorkiy as a "window to communism." This was a fully justified assessment. The authority of self-government was so high that frequently Anton Semenovitch himself had to give up whenever, for educational considerations, he tried to promote something unfair. There could not even be a question of a disparity between words and actions. A gossip was ridiculed by everyone. Older children behaved toward younger ones with a love and tenderness which would be difficult to imagine even in an ideal family. These communards, always engaged in some kind of useful work—the commune had more than 20 paying circles and sports sections—had no problem as to "what to do in their spare time." Happy, cheerful, uplifted, living in harmony, they conquered even the most prejudiced controllers with their "esthetic expressiveness." What about traditions? "Do not occupy seats in public transport." "At a meeting speak no more than 1 minute." "Do not check the report of the person on duty" (the idea of absolute trust in someone appointed by the collective). "No whining" (do not complain about difficulties but struggle against them). "Do not argue with the member of the hygiene commission on duty" (a hair on the floor means dirt). "If you get a pass set your own return time. One minute late means 5 hours of detention" (i.e., 5 hours of reading sitting on the sofa of the official in charge). "If you are late for breakfast, you go straight to school or to the plant." There was also the following tradition: "Do not hold to banister on the stairs." This too had a profound meaning: Walk straight and gracefully, and so on, and so forth.

In his essay on Makarenko, K. I. Chukovskiy cites an excerpt from the memoirs of one of Anton Semenovitch's students: "We were required to display impeccable courtesy in addressing one another, particularly our seniors, all citizens, all visitors and all outsiders." Anton Semenovitch said: "We, Soviet people, must shine with our refined and gentlemanly behavior. The entire world should admire our behavior."

The technology of creating such a collective, however, was totally dismantled. Naturally, the main role here was played by the stereotype of combined pedagogy. However, this was not the only feature. Try to build up a real collective. What kind of skill does this require? What kind of standards, knowledge and strength? Actually, our schools do have talented organizers. But why do they need "unnecessary" confusion? All that is demanded of them is good grades!

Fifty years ago, Makarenko wrote sadly and with irritation: "Actually, we do not educate a student. We demand of him nothing other than most primitive obedience

which we need for our own convenience. We see to it (not always) that he remain quiet in class but we do not set ourselves any targets in promoting positive discipline. Sometimes our school students have the discipline of order but there is no discipline of struggle and of surmounting difficulties. We wait for the student to commit a misdemeanor, at which point we undertake to "educate" him. We are not concerned with a student who has not transgressed, where he goes, what kind of character develops in him, underneath a good superficial manners. We neither know nor find out about such a student. Frequently encountered "prigs" and "Jesuits," hoarders, time-servers, nerds, scatterbrains, flirts, spongers, misanthropes, dreamers, or crammers slide unnoticed through our educational concerns. We sometimes note their existence. To begin with, however, they do not bother us and, second, in any case we do not know what to do with them. Actually, it is precisely such characters that develop into harmful people and not in the least into naughty and disorganized children."

Let us visit any school at random and speak with educators and we would probably hear: "This was written about us."

As defined by A. S. Makarenko, "The collective is a contact unit based on the socialist principle of association." Its members must know one another. They must have their own personal opinion on one another and must rely on this opinion in the struggle against any and all manifestations of prejudice. In various contexts Makarenko lists different figures for the optimal number of members of a collective, ranging from 400 to 1,000. In all cases, however, being in touch remains the criterion. "Huge schools," he recommends, "should be broken up, so that each school would have its own personality and so that the children could know each other and teachers walking down a hall would recognize those whom they educate...."

Ignoring the law of contacts causes the school educational process tremendous harm. Without contacts no proper collective can be formed and, therefore, no first-rate education is possible. It may seem incredible and unnatural but it is a fact that by building up huge schools we create our own foundations for mass failures in education. This too is the product of combined pedagogy. One could study in a school for 10,000 students but one cannot be educated in it.

A real school palace was built in Donetsk, on the picturesque bank of the Kalmius. Each classroom or, more accurately, each laboratory, was equipped with modern facilities. The office of the principal looks like the premises of a dispatcher in a large plant. All he has to do is press a button and class 7B shows up on the television screen; another button brings up classroom 10A. All one has to do is sit and watch. But then here is a paradox. Principals do not feel like sitting in that office or looking at the screen and they also avoid working in that palace. G. A. Kolikov, a talented principal,

explained: "I go to the Marinskiy children's home. I do not mind commuting 30 km, but educating 2,500 people with the help of a television set I personally cannot. Education needs a collective and how can you develop it with such a large number of people?"

As early as the 1970s this author suggested that school complexes be built instead of huge schools. They would consist of two, three or more schools, each one for 700 students, located on the same site and connected with short walkaways leading to the common grounds of the multiple-purpose bloc. The bloc would house the assembly hall which could seat the students of one of the schools at a time, a cafeteria, several sports premises, an engineering control center, a swimming pool, a library and workshops.

Each school would have its principal. The multiple-purpose bloc would be managed by an administrative principal who would be in charge of the economic management of the entire complex. The load of the educators would be correlated to the scale of the complex: If a school does not offer a certain number of hours on a specific subject, such hours could be taught in another. However, practical experience has indicated that there is no practical need for this. The same procedure would be followed in organizing circles, the teaching of optional subjects and the location of laboratories. As to educational work, each school would act as an autonomous collective. The builders like such proportions and education is given a controllable educational process.

Incidentally, our friends in the GDR immediately appreciated this idea. As early as 1970 they studied the description of the complex and 18 months later built a prototype of it in the city of Kottbus. Currently schools in the GDR are built exclusively as such complexes.

The German colleagues went one step further. In addition to general education schools, they began to include in the complex kindergartens and vocational schools. Saturdays and Sundays part of the multiple-purpose bloc is put at the disposal of the population of the microrayon (for a small fee). It is used for concerts, ceremonies and business meetings.

Komsomolsk is a young city in Poltava Oblast, in the Ukraine. The energetic and creative management of the city liked the idea of a school complex from the very beginning. School No 3, attended by about 2,000 students, and the architectural design of which was ideally consistent with the idea of a complex, was divided into three collectives and, correspondingly, three Komsomol and three Pioneer organizations. School principals became directors of studies and organizers of extracurricular education while the principal, Vasilii Dmitriyevich Masnyy, became administrative director. No additional expenditures were necessary.

The new school structure, in which A. S. Makarenko's entire method was "automatically transferred" became an accepted system in only 2 or 3 weeks. A council of commanders started work, the Komsomol organization was revived and the extracurricular life of the children became reliably supervised by the collective.

"No science can be more dialectical," A. S. Makarenko wrote, "than education. The creation of the necessary type of behavior is, above all, a question of experience, custom, and lengthy training in what we need. Even the calisthenics premises for such exercises should be part of our Soviet collective, filled with the type of trapezes and parallel bars which we need.

"That is all. There is no mystique here. There is no trickery. Everything is clear, everything is accessible to my common sense."

According to A. S. Makarenko's theory, "The organization of a collective must begin with solving the question of the primary collective."

In terms of the practice and theory of communist education, the primary collective is as important as the type of classroom developed by Ya. A. Komenskiy, used for both training practice and theory. In the very first years of his work, A. S. Makarenko set a basic rule: In order to learn to give preference to the common interests—which, precisely, is the nature of collectivism—one must begin by learning how to live with the interests of the collective, which is nothing other than a specific carrier of all basic features of the socialist way of life. After a more detailed study, however, Makarenko found out that the transition to the interests of the collective as well cannot be direct but presumes the existence of a binding link. But what type of link? In order to answer this question, according to his own words, he spent 10 years of intensive study. The result was the primary collective.

It is being said that anything that is brilliant is simple. The primary collective confirms this truth perhaps most clearly. What special thing could there be in putting together children of different ages? But let us look closely. Above all, we have quantitative limits: The group must be no less than seven and no more than 15 people. If we ask cyberneticists they would immediately answer that this solves the problem of governability. Indeed, let us conceive of such a group in physical terms, so to say: a first grader, a second grader, and so on, all the way to the oldest 10th grader. In such a group who should and could be the leader? The answer is obvious. The oldest person is also the most experienced and knowledgeable and ideologically and politically most mature Komsomol member. Does such a leader need the authoritarian support without which the class leader cannot do? Naturally, he does not. Therefore, it becomes possible to direct the educational influence of every child not with the help of an educator but the commander of a

noncoeval detachment, i.e., by a school student himself. Such is the key to the technology of self-government, self-education, responsibility and other matters of which today we write and talk.

In 1922, i.e., soon after the colony imeni M. Gorkiy was founded, in a few brief theses A. S. Makarenko formulated the basic principles of the developing new theory of education. Let me cite two of them: "Greater attention must be paid to the collective of children as an organic entity. This requires a restructuring of the entire mentality of the school worker." Here is the other: "We must totally abandon the idea that a good school needs above all good methods within the classroom. What a good school needs above all is a scientifically organized system of a variety of influences."

But here is what we read in the latest edition of the textbook on pedagogy: "The basic and most significant feature in terms of the nature of activities in the school is the classroom collective. It is in the classroom that the longest and most stable relations develop between children and teachers and among each other and between them and children in other grades."

Is this funny? It is sad, rather, for now we must begin everything from the beginning.

In addressing the 20th Komsomol Congress, M. S. Gorbachev expressed serious criticism addressed at the Ministry of Education and all of its agencies. For the time being, the school reform is not progressing. The situation is obviously abnormal. Neither the party nor our society intend to tolerate this.

What should be done so that, once and for all, a clear change for the better take place in the schools? Above all, we must bring order in the theory of education itself, firmly cleansing its principles from false interpretations which, over a long period of time, became firm stereotypes and which totally distorted the technology of education and upbringing. We must radically change the structure of curriculums, divide the training process into trends in accordance with the inclinations and capabilities of the students and grant them the right to choose their subjects (other than some mandatory subjects, such as social science, native language, literature, history and physical education); we must develop and make extensive use of tests for the early identification of capabilities (every child is capable but it is important to know in what area and to what extent); A. S. Makarenko's educational technology must be applied comprehensively.

Naturally, the school needs teachers with a new type of thinking. Here as well the final word is that of the thorough and serious study of the works of education classics: N. K. Krupskaya, A. V. Lunacharskiy, A. S. Makarenko, P. P. Blonskiy and others.

All of these steps will make it possible for public education to correct the existing situation. This is needed today, now. Time does not wait.

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### **Problems and Features of Japan's Economy**

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[Text] The profound study of contemporary capitalism, contained in the new draft of the party program which was adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress confirmed that Japan has firmly assumed the position of one of the three main partners in interimperialist rivalry, among which "the competitive struggle for markets, areas of application of capital, sources of raw materials, and superiority in the decisive areas of scientific and technical progress is intensifying."

The growth of conflict situations in the global capitalist economy was merely part of the price paid by Japan for its high rates of economic and scientific and technical development. Another one was the aggravation of internal socioeconomic contradictions.

The global economic overproduction crisis of 1974-1975 and the intensified structural upheavals within the global capitalist economy were a crucial time in Japan's post-war history. The grave crisis which was repeated by the turn of the 1980s accelerated the painful reassessment of values concerning the concepts of the potential possibilities for the further development of the economy and led to major breakdowns in the functioning of the entire reproduction mechanism in the country and the display of profound structural disproportions. This was manifested in the outbreak of structural crises in a number of industrial sectors, an overall lagging in agriculture and the entire infrastructure, the aggravation of the problem of the territorial location of production facilities and environmental pollution, crisis in housing construction, increased cases of bankruptcy of small- and medium-sized enterprises, inflationary processes, and the growth of contradictions in trade and economic relations with the main partners.

One of the most profound structural distortions in the Japanese economy was the clear disparity between the country's resource availability and the needs of expanded reproduction. The two "petroleum shocks" of the 1970s were reflected most painfully precisely in Japan's economy. The consequence was a strong outbreak of inflation, a sharp deficit in the balance of



payments and a decline in the efficiency of a number of leading industrial sectors. In the final account, this made the problem of fuel and raw materials one of the most vulnerable links in the entire economic mechanism.

All of this brought to light the objective inevitability of maintaining a "moderate" growth rate and the need for an urgent correction in the overall model of the country's economic development, a conversion from primarily extensive to intensive type of reproduction and a radical change in the position held by Japan in the international division of labor.

# I

Within the overall concept of profound structural changes, the main task was giving priority to the development of technologically complex production and science-intensive sectors. At the same time, the need was emphasized for strict conservation of all types of resources, and closing down or partially transferring abroad energy-, material- and labor-intensive types of production. The center of gravity in the scientific and technical support of the restructuring of Japanese industry shifted to domestic research and development.

However, Japan's "technological breakthrough" was concentrated along a relatively narrow sector of scientific research and development. The new group of priority areas was that of microelectronics, computers, telecommunications equipment, automation and new construction materials. In these areas today the Japanese industry has already been able to achieve noticeable successes.

The electronics industry became the main trend in the country's international specialization. Output in this sector tripled between 1976 and 1985, reaching 18 trillion yen; more than one-half of this output is exported. The sharp competition among companies in the electronic industry on the domestic and foreign markets determined the high pace of renovation of output, ranging between 3 and 4 years. A characteristic feature of Japanese electronics is the faster development of the production of industrial commodities and components (about 75 percent of the entire sectorial output), with a relative decline in the role of household equipment.

Computers are among the basic types of electronic output. Compared with the mid-1970s, by 1987 their output had increased by a factor of 7. Starting with 1982, with the direct participation of the state, a national 10-year program is being implemented on developing fifth generation computers with artificial intelligence which, if successful, could lead Japan to the cutting edge in the area of information technology.

Production and exports of the most advanced integrated circuits are developing at a headlong pace. In a number of types of microprocessors, Japan's electronic companies are controlling today 60 to 90 percent of the world's

capitalist market. In 1985 Japan replaced the United States as the leading producer of the most advanced integrated circuits and since 1986 it has been also their biggest consumer in the world.

Japanese companies won a position of virtual monopoly on the global market of household video recorders (about 90 percent of global output), video cassettes (93 percent) and other types of video equipment.

Great attention is being paid in the country to the development of the optoelectronic industry, the output of which (various types of lasers, optical fibers, etc.) is playing an increasing role in the development and dissemination of multi-functional integrated communications systems. Japan is the largest producer and exporter of facsimile equipment in the world for very fast data transmission, the output of which increased within a single decade (1976-1985) by a factor of 26. The amount of such equipment installed in Japan (1 million units) exceeds one-half of the world's supply.

The entire machine-engineering complex, machine tool building in particular, in the area of which, starting with 1982, Japan has held a leading position in the capitalist world, outstripping the FRG and the United States, is actively developing here, based on the use of electronics. In 1985 67 percent of the overall output of Japan's machine tools consisted of machine tools with numerical controls and processing centers (compared with 20-30 percent in the United States and Western Europe). Japan accounts for one-half of the global capitalist production of such items.

Japan holds a leading position in the world in the scale of output and utilization of industrial robots and flexible production systems. It also accounts for about two-thirds of the total number of industrial robots installed in the capitalist world and for nearly 30 percent of large flexible production systems. Nearly three-quarters of the industrial robots produced in the country are exported mainly to the United States and Western Europe. At the present time a second "wave" of demand may be noted in Japan's domestic market, due, in particular, to the installation of more complex robots. It is expected that by 1995 the production of industrial robots will quadruple compared to the 1985 level (*Nikkan Kogyo* 27 June 1985). In the area of the application of flexible production systems, starting with the 1980s Japanese companies have converted from the development of individual modules and lines to the creation of flexible automated enterprises.

The faster development of a production technology for the manufacturing of a number of new materials, above all pure ceramics and high-strength carbon fibers, is another rather large area of scientific and technical progress achieved in Japan. The investments of Japanese firms in NIOKR in pure ceramics, for example, are double those of American companies. Japan accounts for 50 percent of the world market in this area.

Innovation processes in the last decade have been the main factor which has enabled Japan to achieve a faster growth of labor productivity compared with the other developed capitalist countries. In terms of its level in industry, Japan has outstripped all leading Western European countries and reduced its lag behind the United States. Whereas in 1975 this indicator was slightly over half of the American, by the mid-1980s, it had reached approximately 90 percent.

The high standards of Japanese management greatly explain the successes achieved in increasing labor productivity. Here three main elements are concentrated in the organization of production management: 1. The exceptional attention paid to all forms of resource conservation; 2. High quality of the work and of produced goods; 3. Maximal cooperation between the main producer and numerous small- and medium-sized subcontracting enterprises. The practice of the extensive use of "quality control circles," which are an efficient means of increasing labor productivity and competitiveness of output, is an item in internal company management in Japan, borrowed by enterprises in the United States, Western Europe and a number of developing countries.

The faster growth of labor productivity has changed in Japan's favor the correlation between the main centers of the capitalist world in a number of important macroeconomic indicators. Japan's share in the overall gross national product (GNP) in the capitalist world increased from 11.8 percent in 1971-1975 to 14.8 percent in 1981-1985; the respective figures in industrial output were 10.3 and 13.6 percent and in the export of goods and services, 7.0 and 11.1 percent. Today government and business circles in Japan link the further development of its national economy to the intensive growth of domestic scientific potential and the transformation of the country into a powerful scientific and technical state. This task defines the main trends followed in the industrial strategy of the monopolies and is becoming one of the basic targets of state control.

During the 1980s Japan invariably found itself in second position in the capitalist world in overall NIOKR expenditures and people employed in that area (second to the United States) and in terms of NIOKR outlays and in the correlation between the cost of NIOKR and the GNP (second to the FRG). Between 1981 and 1985 the annual growth rates of investments in science and technology averaged 11.6 percent and their share in the GNP increased from 1.9 to 2.9 percent. In terms of absolute figures, however, Japan spends only one-third of the funds spent in the United States. Investments in NIOKR per scientific worker here are under 65 percent of funds spent in the United States (see *Kagaku Gidzyutsu Yoran*, 1986. Tokyo, 1987, pp 6-27).

Japan's scientific and technical policy and the practical steps taken for its implementation are characterized by a number of features with their strong and weak sides.

Japan has been able to achieve impressive accomplishments in a number of developments of progressive technology of "today," the fundamental principles of which had been discovered more than 20 years ago. New developments such as these are related, above all, to improving the quality features of already competitive goods and reducing production costs. It is natural, therefore, that today, from the commercial viewpoint, production technology applied in the manufacturing of new types of goods has become the specific area in which the companies have been most successful. However, in converting to a new stage of technological development, this advantage could turn into a restraining factor.

The private economic sector remains the main source of NIOKR financing in Japan. Furthermore, the share of state expenditures for such purposes have shown a noticeable decline, from 28 percent in 1975 to 19 percent in 1985. Compared with its closest competitors (even excluding the latter's appropriations for military-type NIOKR), this percentage is very low. This situation threatens to turn into a strategic lag, for it limits the possibilities of the state of coordinating and directing the course of scientific and technical progress in the country. Although the Japanese government is an initiator and participant in dozens of large national projects, the purpose of which is to ensure a qualitatively new scientific and technical leap (it was to this effect, among others, that the "Japan Base Technology Center" was founded in 1986), the priority task in developing technologies revolutionary in nature is assigned, as in the past, essentially to the private sector. This is also related to the fact that the overwhelming majority of general costs go into applied research and experimental design while the share of outlays for basic research remains insignificant and is even declining, from 14 percent in 1981 to 13 percent in 1985. In the private companies this share is even under 6 percent. This situation is entirely explainable: by virtue of its very nature, private capital is interested above all in the fastest possible practical return on capital investments with minimal risks, for which reason it is essentially incapable of ensuring a distribution of resources between basic and applied research, which would be optimal from the social viewpoint.

It cannot be said that the Japanese monopolies, not to mention government organizations, are unaware of the urgent need to develop basic science. However, the lack of a firm background in domestic developments substantially hinders the acceleration of this process. Interesting from this viewpoint are the results of a survey conducted among 250 Japanese specialists, who were asked to rate the present conditions of scientific and technical potential in Japan. The survey made clear that in basic research Japan is substantially behind the level reached in the United States and Western Europe (the view held by 86.8 percent of the surveyed experts); in terms of applied research Japan is either on their level (72.0

percent) or ahead of them (20.8 percent); in the development of commercial technologies, it has outstripped its competitors (63.5 percent) (see *Look Japan*, May 10, 1985).

It is entirely obvious that changes in the existing situation will require a substantial amount of time and efforts both on the part of governmental authorities and private monopoly capital. However, judging by existing forecasts, particularly major changes in the nature of the main areas of scientific and technical progress are not contemplated for the next few years. According to the Industrial Structure Council of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Industry (MVTP), by the end of this century, as in the past, only microelectronics (including computer technology and the technology of development of communications systems) will grow at a faster pace, while no substantial development of biotechnology and other scientific areas, which require profound theoretical studies, is expected before the beginning of the 21st century. It is believed that in the overall value of output of science-intensive sectors, which should reach 110 trillion yen by the year 2000, or 20 percent of the GNP (as compared to 5 percent in 1985), electronics will account for 84 percent (see *The Japan Times*, 7 January 1986). Therefore, the disproportion in Japan's scientific and technical development will remain and will even worsen.

## II

Directly or indirectly, the contemporary stage of the scientific and technical revolution has affected all sides of life in Japanese society. The occurring changes objectively require the strengthening of the economic role of the state and the appearance of new state regulatory and controlling functions. In practice, however, as is the case in the other capitalist countries, the machinery of state power in Japan has demonstrated merely a limited ability to deal with the negative consequences of the scientific and technical revolution, the intensification of crisis phenomena in economic development and the growth of social tension. Under the banner of "returning" to free enterprise, the government of the liberal democrats is actually mounting an offensive against the living standards of the Japanese working people and the rights they have gained.

The administrative-financial reform, the essence of which is the latest restructuring of the system of state economic control of private monopoly capital, including the privatization of state ownership and lowering corporate taxes and the taxes of the rich population strata, are the specific manifestations of changes in economic policy. The financial aspect of the reform involves efforts to eliminate the chronic budget deficit and to reduce the huge national debt. The current national debt exceeds 145 trillion yen, or some 50 percent of the GNP. This is significantly higher than the national debt of the majority of other developed capitalist countries. The total amount of interest on such debt and its repayment are

the largest budget item (21.4 percent), which exceeds allocation for all social programs and is double the amount spent on science and education.

The budget policy of the Japanese government is of a clearly manifested class and antipeople's nature. A sharp contrast exists between the strict economic system and rapidly growing military expenditures. Such expenditures increased by 45 percent between 1981 and 1985. According to the current "defense program" of the National Defense Administration, the sum of military expenditures for 1986-1990 should account for slightly under 19 trillion yen. In terms of growth rates outlays for military purposes put Japan in firm leading position in the world; in terms of the size of the "defense budget" (about \$23 billion) this sum is slightly lesser than the military allocations of other U.S. allies (see *NRI. Quarterly Economic Review*, May 1987, p 43).

A qualitatively new stage in Japan's "defense policy" was the adoption of the new 1987 fiscal year budget. Having increased its military expenditures by more than 3.5 trillion yen (5.2 percent), which will exceed 1 percent of the expected level of the GNP for that year, the government abandoned its traditional upper limit of growth of such expenditures, which was established by cabinet decision in 1976. This means that now it is only the amount requested by the National Defense Administration for the implementation of its latest 5-year plan for increasing armaments that will be considered the new "ceiling" of military budgets. In other words, this means that expenditures for the militarization of the country are no longer limited by anything other than the appetite of the defense department itself.

The promises of Prime Minister Nakasone to put an end to the crisis in state finances and to balance the budget by 1990 without any major tax increase, are quite unrealistic. The practice of rigid budgetary restrictions has its limits. One of them is the persistent demands made by the United States and Western European countries to take steps to stimulate domestic demand and a slowdown of exports. The 1985-1986 economic decline accelerated the government's decision to undertake a broad reform in the tax system in the next 3 years, with a view to harnessing additional financial resources.

The Japanese taxation system is distinguished by its extreme unevenness in terms of taxes and social groups. Blue and white-collar workers are the main taxpayers. Their taxes are automatically withheld from their salary checks. Meanwhile, the large corporations themselves declare their annual income and avoid taxation through a variety of devices.

The planned reform, however, is not aimed at eliminating the socially unfair taxation and benefit structure. Its main objective is to increase the scale of indirect taxation, the main burden of which always falls on the shoulders of the least prosperous part of the population, while at the same time providing new tax benefits to

corporations and to the prosperous social upper stratum. The maximum rate of the individual income tax has been lowered from 70 to 60 percent, while corporate taxes will be reduced from 42.3 to 37.5 percent. On the other hand, a 20-percent tax will be levied on all income from petty savings. The main blow at the interests of the toiling masses is that in the future a new 5-percent "consumption tax" may be introduced, which will be the Japanese variant of the added value tax. As to the individual income tax, thanks to reducing the number of tax categories, more than 80 percent of blue and white-collar workers will be forced to pay higher taxes than before.

The persistent efforts of the Nakasone government to pass through parliament a number of bills on the reorganization of the tax system ended, however, in failure. They were firmly opposed by the overwhelming majority of the country's population, the trade unions, the opposition parties and even influential commercial business circles. A broad campaign of protest led to the fact that the ruling liberal democratic party lost more than 50 seats in the local elections of April 1987. Under those circumstances, the government was forced temporarily to abandon the idea of a "consumption tax."

The drastic aggravation of the employment situation has become a serious sociopolitical problem. According to official data, the level of unemployment in the country affects almost 3 percent of the active population. To Japan, with its traditional system of "lifetime jobs" this is a record-setting indicator. However, the real situation on the job market is even worse, for it is concealed with the help of a variety of statistical tricks. If we apply the estimating method used in the United States and Western Europe, the unemployment level in Japan would show an excess of 5 percent (see *Mainichi Daily News*, 22 November 1986).

The problem of employment has already become chronic and will be further aggravated in the future. The drastic increase in the value of the yen has weakened Japan's competitive positions in international trade and accelerated the surfacing of a number of deep disproportions which mark the current stage in the structural reorganization of the Japanese economy, including the existence of huge "hidden" unemployment. According to Bank of Tokyo experts, in the processing industry "surplus personnel" numbers approximately 1 million blue and white-collar workers.

The ruling circles in Japan are showing obvious concern in connection with the growing scale of unemployment and the crumbling of the myth of the alleged "harmonious" relations between labor and capital in Japanese society. The situation has become so serious that the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Industry and the Ministry of Labor set up a special committee to formulate joint actions and take legislative steps to help in the reallocation of manpower among economic sectors and regions. This problem was reflected in the draft governmental

program "Basic Concept of the Industrial Society of the 21st Century" in which public and private services are assigned the role of the main shock absorber in the reconstruction of the employment structure. However, the possibility of creating new jobs in services, even in the broad understanding of the term, including power, transportation, communications, finances, trade, and so on, are by no means limitless. Already now the number of people employed in these areas has reached 31.7 million, as compared to 12.4 million in the processing industry. Furthermore, in this economic sector as well automation is spreading increasingly. According to some estimates demand for various types of labor saving devices in services will triple by 1990 and increase by a factor of more than 15 by 1995.

As to the shifting of manpower within the processing industry itself, from traditional to new science-intensive sectors, it would require a long time and a complex professional retraining of cadres which, in the case of people of middle and older age groups, is virtually impossible. Thus, according to the estimates of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Industry by 1990, with an overall "surplus" of manpower, there will be shortage of 600,000 computer programmers.

No positive effect of any other planned steps to reduce unemployment should be expected in the next few years. Unlike other developed capitalist countries, Japan has essentially retained the system of a 6-day work week. In 1985 annual working time in Japan averaged 2,110 hours as against 1,850 in the United States and Great Britain and 1,650 in France. Although Japanese workers have the right to a 12-day paid leave (10 days at small enterprises), they actually make use of less than 60 percent of their paid leave. In September 1987 the Ministry of Labor submitted for Diet debate a draft bill revising the "Law on Labor Standards," which was enacted in 1947, with a view to the gradual reduction, over a 10-year period, of the length of the working time and, by the end of the period, converting to a 40-hour work week, as one of the means of fighting the growing threat of mass unemployment. It is expected, however, that a motion for any kind of legislative limitation of the length of working time would trigger the fierce opposition of the entrepreneurs.

The crisis in the financial system and the threatening growth of unemployment are by no means the only difficulties encountered by Japan in the course of the structural reorganization of its economic mechanism. Added to them are profound contradictions in the agrarian economic sector, the existing wholesale and retail trade system, various areas in the social infrastructure, etc.

### III

Equally difficult problems face Japan in the area of its vast relations with the outside world. The integration of the Japanese economy within the capitalist global economy has substantially accelerated in recent years. This

has been paralleled by a drastic aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions. They are manifested above all in foreign trade relations and are based on the increasing imbalance of commodity flows within the triangle of the "power centers" of imperialism—United States-Western Europe-Japan. The main "disturber of tranquillity" in many cases is the expansion of Japan's monopolies. The annual growth rates of Japanese exports between 1976 and 1985 averaged 12.2 percent, compared with 7.0 percent for the United States, 6.7 percent for France, 7.4 percent for the FRG, 8.6 percent for Italy and 8.8 percent for Great Britain.

The main reason for the successful export offensive mounted by Japan on U.S. and Western European markets is the great price competitiveness of Japanese goods, based essentially on the cost of manpower. Thus, between 1976 and 1985 the share of labor costs in Japan's processing industry remained virtually stable whereas it increased by 3.4 percent in the United States, 2.1 percent in the FRG, 7.5 percent in Great Britain and 7.8 percent in France. Some other factors include technological novelty and high quality of execution, a flexible marketing system and excellent follow-up service.

Since 1980 Japan's trade surplus has increased by a factor of 7 in its trade with the United States and 1.8 in its trade with Western Europe. Between 1983 and 1986 the share of the United States in the overall Japanese trade surplus averaged in excess of 90 percent. Meanwhile, Japan has steadily accounted for one-third of the entire U.S. foreign trade deficit. It is no accident, therefore, that the main contradiction has developed precisely on the subject of Japanese-American trade relations, which is a natural consequence of the increased interdependence of both countries' economic structures. Japan's dependence is particularly high, for up to 40 percent of its exports are absorbed by the American market and 20 percent of its imports are from the United States. Consequently, even the slightest changes on the U.S. market immediately affect the overall condition of the Japanese economy.

A broad area of Japanese-American trade contradictions exists. Sharp clashes, which occasionally assume the nature of "trade wars" and which require political solutions, have been related above all to the weakened positions of the United States in its trade in high technology goods and, in particular, in electronics.

The charges leveled against Japan by the United States may be reduced to two essential aspects: the "closed nature" of its domestic market and "unfair trade practices," to which Japanese firms resort in order to expand their sales markets. Similar accusations have been voiced by Western European countries as well. The consequence of this has been increased demand for changes in Japan's tariff and customs regulations and budget and tax policy, and the making of an increased number of protectionist decisions concerning Japanese exports.

The use made by Washington over a number of years of high interest rates and, of late, of a "cheap" dollar brought to light the pressing need for making major corrections in the basic trends of Japan's economic policy. The accelerated growth of new industrial sectors intensified the export orientation of Japan's economy as a whole without, however, ensuring their harmonious involvement in the international capitalist division of labor. That is why a stage of more profound rather than simple change in sectorial correlations is taking place in Japan, a stage of structural reconstruction, the essence of which is to achieve a balance between domestic demand and exports with a view to reducing the dependence of the economic market on exports.

So far the Japanese government, however, has been unable to formulate a clear strategic line for the radical restructuring of the country's economic mechanism. An initial effort to find ways of converting to a new structure in investment policy may be the report which was submitted in May 1987 for ratification by the cabinet, drafted by a special committee of the Economic Council, entitled "Measures to Reorganize the Economic Structure." The political recommendations included in this document, better known as the "Maekawa Report," include as a basic stipulation the task of achieving stable changes in the correlation between domestic and foreign markets and in the scale and structure of exports and imports. According to the authors of the report the priority development of the domestic market should be ensured by drastically increasing the volume of "public projects," stimulating housing construction and taking other steps to improve the "quality of life," for Japan's population is far below the level reached by other Western countries in a number of quality of life indicators. Nonetheless, other than a general statement on the pressing need for converting to a new stage of structural reorganization, influenced by worsened domestic and, particularly, foreign reproduction conditions, the report virtually fails to show specific ways, times and volumes required for such a step, the means for their financial backing and other essential matters.

In the area of international economic relations, priority is given to the task of gradually lowering Japan's huge trade surplus and establishing "harmonious relations" with its main foreign partners. The report names as one of the essential means of solving this problem the need to further intensify capital exports. However, we should point out that the process of capital outflow from Japan has been developing with no controls for a number of years, at a rather high pace, triggering new difficulties both within Japan's economy and in importing countries. In the last 3 years the negative Japanese balance in the area of dynamics of long-term capital has exceeded \$240 billion (see *Toie Keidzai Tokei Geppo*, No 2, 1987, p 19). Japan has become the largest creditor in the capitalist world. By the end of 1985 the sum total of its net foreign assets exceeded those of Great Britain by a factor of 1.4 and of the FRG by a factor of 2.6, not to mention the United States, which found itself in the

position of net debtor. Surveys of Japanese companies have indicated that they intend to increase their industrial investments in the United States by an annual rate averaging in excess of 14 percent, through the year 2000. Combined with the swelling of Japanese portfolio investments, this will mean a gradual strengthening of Japan's competitive positions in the main citadel of the capitalist world.

The country's ruling circles are also trying to solve the long-term structural problems with the help of "emergency" means, aimed at the short-term improvement of the general economic situation. On the eve of the "big seven" conference in Venice, the latest package of "emergency measures" (totaling 6 trillion yen), the purpose of which would be to stimulate domestic demand and to increase imports by lowering taxes and increasing governmental expenditures. The propaganda effect of this step was aimed above all at reducing protectionist moods in the United States and western Europe. However, even if this step were fully successful, the 1987-1988 Japanese GNP would still increase by more than one percent (totaling approximately 2.5 percent) and its trade surplus would be reduced by no more than \$5-6 billion, whereas the U.S. deficit alone from its trade with Japan last year amounted to \$58.6 billion. It is hardly possible to settle the extremely grave trade and economic contradictions within the United States-Japan-Western Europe triangle with the help of such modest results.

On the other hand, the adoption of an "emergency" program means a radical turn in the domestic economic policy of the Japanese government, the main task of which so far has been that of gradually achieving a balanced budget and substantially reducing the national debt.

Japan has faced a number of difficult socioeconomic problems in the past 10 years. The reverse side of the familiar successes in the economy and in scientific and technical development has been the increased instability of social relations within the country and the appearance of new conflict situations in the foreign economic area. The trend toward increased militarization of the economy is assuming a threatening scale.

What are the immediate prospects for the economic development of the country from the viewpoint of its international positions? It could be assumed that Japan will be able to retain its pace of economic growth, which is faster compared to that of the other imperialist "power centers." However, it would be hardly able to eliminate within 10-15 years the significant gap which has developed in the level of economic and scientific and technical potential, which separates Japan from the United States and Western Europe. The process of transformation of Japan's monopolies into powerful multinational corporations is only gathering strength at this point. The volume of output produced abroad by Japanese industrial corporations, in terms of their domestic production, which was some 4 percent at the beginning of 1984, will

grow, according to some forecasts, to 7-10 percent by the end of the century (this figure has already reached 20 percent for the United States and the FRG (see *Daily Iomiury*, 9 November 1986). Nonetheless, Japan's struggle for leadership and for increasing its role in the economics and politics of global capitalism will inevitably intensify and will be paralleled by the appearance of new centers of grave interimperialist contradictions.

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### **Distribution Mechanism and Social Justice**

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[Article by Petr Olegovich Aven, candidate of economic sciences, senior scientific associate, All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Systems Research]

[Text] *Our editors receive a great deal of mail on the economic and social problems of restructuring and suggesting a variety of ways to solve them, agreeing or arguing with some concepts of published articles. The readers react particularly sharply to problems within the "area of direct interests of the people," in areas where the economic, moral and social problems of change and improving the distribution mechanism interconnect and to the utilization of public consumption funds and, on a broader level, problems of the social protection of the people. We have asked an economic scientist to study this mail and to comment on it.*

The most important, the main feature in the implementation of restructuring, as was noted at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, is its tie with the economic interests of the people and the consideration of such interests, which should instill new dynamism in our economic system and all economic work. Success will greatly depend on the concepts of social justice, which is the main indicator of economic interests, and on the way the members of society perceive social justice and see the ways of ensuring it.

The greatest interest of the readers was concentrated in three groups of suggestions for discussion, formulated in the journal in various ways: on broadening the area of paid medical services; on differentiation and, in some cases, increasing house-rent payments and changing ratios among social, cooperative and individual housing sectors; on changing prices, including retail prices of food and services, making them consistent with socially necessary outlays.

The study of the letters enable us, albeit approximately, to gain an idea of the interests of different social groups, to weigh "yes" and "no" answers of the readers on such increases and differences in the ways and means of

solving problems. Nonetheless, there are strong connections among them, which influence the overall social feelings of the people and their living standards and active social stance and, in the final account, the outcome of restructuring.

#### From the Viewpoint of Health Protection

The draft "Basic Directions in the Development of the Protection of the Population's Health and Restructuring of Health Care in the USSR in the 12th 5-Year Period and the Period Until the Year 2000" was submitted for nationwide discussion. It clearly confirmed the inviolability of the basic principle governing the organization of Soviet health care—the universal accessibility of free medical aid. This is one of the basic constitutionally codified values of our society. Let us emphasize that this is a principle which not only do we have no intention of abandoning but, conversely, which will be asserted in the future as well as the main, and decisive one. Nonetheless, judging by the mail received by the journal and suggestions published in the course of the discussion of the project in the press, the question of the admissibility and expediency of supplementing free medical aid with paid services has been raised and has been a topic of sharp discussions.

Characteristically, the main arguments in favor of expanding the area of paid services have been voiced above all by the medical personnel themselves. The prime argument is the wasteful and inefficient use made of the funds and resources of our health care system, despite their scarcity, which worsens the lack of some types of medical aid. Artemyev, a physician from Petrozavodsk, for example, writes that "Free hospitalization leads to the fact that excessively large numbers of people who do not require any in-hospital treatment go to hospital." On the basis of his own experience, he believes that "first aid" stations answer a large number of calls which do not require emergency treatment; the cost to the health care system of one such call ranges between 6 and 20 rubles; if, as has been done by some socialist countries, even partial payment for such "first aid" is required, the number of unnecessary calls would decline significantly; in any case, in his view, customers should be made to pay for "obviously fictitious summons." (It is true that it is not clear what summonses, other than cases of hooliganism, could be classified as "obviously false:" there may be an attack of cardiac insufficiency or tachycardia and the attack may be over by the time the "fast" aid has arrived; blood pressure may go drastically up and then go down. What to do? Answers to such questions are not simple.)

The second argument in favor of partial payments for medical services is the careless attitude on the part of many people concerning their health. Ye. Kissel, doctor of economic sciences, writing from Zhukovskiy, emphasizes, among others, that such type of negligence is actually encouraged by the fact that in our country, in his opinion, it is sometimes more profitable to be sick than

go to work. Readers note the need for a differentiated approach to different groups of patients and illnesses. The following example is cited: Patients who have "developed" as a result of alcohol abuse a cirrhosis of the liver may spend as much as 6 weeks in hospital for treatment; diagnostic and therapy costs alone exceed 11 rubles daily; would it not be fair to reimburse these costs out of pocket?

The need for differentiated expenditures of government funds for medical aid, divided "between those who try to improve their health and those who thoughtlessly waste it" is the main topic of the letters received by Professors V. Yermakov and I. Lavrova and Candidate of Medical Sciences V. Alekseyeva from Moscow. The authors note that in frequent cases patients in polyclinics, sanatoriums and preventive health establishments violate the instructions of physicians and "Is it not fair for such individuals to reimburse the people's funds wasted on their care?"

Some readers even suggest the elimination of 100-percent sick leave compensation for cases directly related to the way of life, emphasizing that, on the one hand, this would contribute to abandoning harmful habits and, on the other, reducing the abuse of sick leave. Let us note, however, that the question of our health and illness is an exceptionally sensitive topic. It is very difficult to classify people into those who care for their health and those who abuse it, and an arbitrary classification here is virtually inevitable. We believe that it is not in this area that we should seek the main reserves for our health care system.

The third argument is related to the aspiration of providing every citizen a real opportunity of obtaining health care and consulting with the most skilled physicians. The readers note that today it is virtually impossible for the the majority of patients to be seen by a noted specialist, not to mention to be systematically treated in a top clinic. Nonetheless, the individual would like to have the confidence that he has done everything possible to protect his health or that of his family.

A partial use of the working time of the best physicians for payment (even at rather steep prices) seems entirely justified. The authors of many letters believe that this will not only open access of patients to highly skilled aid but will also free medicine from corruption and bribery. In this case let us reemphasize that, naturally, the introduction of a system of paid consultations does not mean any rejection of the existing system of free consultations, as assigned by rayon polyclinics and hospitals.

Finally, one more argument in favor of partial payment for medical services is the need to eliminate equalization in the wages of medical workers. Naturally, equalization can be fought also by better organizing the wage system in hospitals, polyclinics and institutes. This could be achieved, for example, by giving the patient the right to choose his own physician in his local polyclinic and by



establishing a direct correlation between the level of income and the number of patients seen by the physician. However, the use of such practices in the current health care system could take a long time to develop, due particularly to the inevitable opposition of the least skilled personnel. According to many readers, partial payment for services would help to identify the best physicians. The real opportunity of having additional legitimate earnings would make it possible to identify more efficiently and relate the results of the activities of a physician to his skill and human qualities. Clearly, the right to this should be granted only to specialists with a certain practical experience in doing impeccable work.

Naturally, it would be naive to assume that it is always better to be treated "for money" instead of for free. Nonetheless, the authors of the letters believe that the choice of a physician and partial payments of his services would lead to the establishment of a personal relationship between the patient and the physician and would make the specialist responsible for the health of every individual patient (which, today, is clearly lacking). The present organization of health care is largely oriented toward "indicators" and "statistics." Actually, the physician sees the patients on a conveyor-belt basis and, as is the case with any conveyor belt, the physician occasionally thinks of the number rather than the individual. Such a statistical approach inevitably leads to an "admissible percentage of waste," although in this case "waste" is absolutely inadmissible. Is this not the reason for which some physicians do not pay the necessary attention to the most complex cases, that their influence on statistics and "gross output" is minimal and the time which they consume is substantial. Partial payments and the inevitable compensation (monetary in this case) for errors in treatment are a real means of abandoning the statistical approach.

However, the arguments against partial payments for medical services are equally substantial.

The first such argument is related to the fear that removing some types of medical help from the "free medicine" sector would lead to an artificial channeling of patients from the free to the paid sector and to an unjustified lowering of real income and living standards. This can be prevented by a strict division of health care services between a free minimum and additional paid help. However, the readers note above all the vagueness of the "minimum" concept. "Is it possible to establish any kind of minimum medical aid considering the immeasurable and unforeseen variety of such aid needed by individuals and the population of the entire country?" ask V. Yermakov, I. Lavrova and V. Alekseyeva.

Another argument in favor of totally free health care is the urgent nature of many types of medical aid. This is discussed, among others, by V. Golovin from Voroshilovgrad. He believes that medical services "can be postponed only at the cost of the loss of health. This would be the result of paying for such services. We are witnessing

an innumerable number of examples of people refusing medical services even though they are free. Adding payments to this would reduce visits to physician even further. This can only increase the number of sick people."

Finally, one more most important argument against partial payments is related to the possibility of any further lowering of the quality of the work of the basic, the free sector, for inevitably, to a certain extent, the attention of society will turn to the development of paid services (being of better quality, they will also become more desirable and prestigious), and the most socially active and demanding citizens will convert to paid health care. This will be to the detriment of people with low income, who will be unable to benefit from the services of the paid sector.

A number of letters call for converting to full paid medical care but with corresponding cash compensations paid to the patients. However, as A. Zamotayev, from Moscow, points out, "A monetary compensation would be inevitably oriented toward a certain average statistical person. This means that the worst situation would be that of the chronically sick, who are weakened and who are disease-prone." Nor can the problem be solved by making health care free for the retired, children, veterans, and so on. In that case payments would be made essentially by active people who have virtually no use for the services of physicians. This, however, makes the very idea of paid services virtually meaningless.

It is obvious, therefore, that the question of partial payment for medical services has no simple or superficial solution. A differentiated approach must be adopted toward the different groups of patients and diseases. This, actually, is the whole idea, for it is a question of paying only for that which goes beyond the limits of a certain standard, such as consulting highly specialized physicians, creating comfortable conditions in hospitals, improved nutrition, etc.

Such steps, however, cannot be separated from other most important tasks related to the development of our health care: the increased share of the national income used to maintain and improve the population's health; restructuring the system of medical training; development of pharmacology, medical instrument manufacturing, and others. Unfortunately, the practice of residual appropriation of funds for social needs led to the fact that the share of outlays for health care and physical culture in the national income of our country has not increased over the past 25 years and remains, as in the past, approximately on the 4 percent level (within the same period of time the share of appropriations for health care in the U.S. GNP doubled and in Japan more than doubled). Without any radical changes in this situation any organizational restructuring, including the



one related to paying for services, would be unlikely to yield the necessary results, which are lowering the mortality rate, increasing the average life span and improving the population's health.

Free medical services and radically improving their quality will be the main trend in the development of our health care in the years to come. This is not simple to achieve. It will require significant additional resources, their improved efficiency and not a postponement in the solution of this problem despite the complex situation involving resources within the national economy. We can speak of payment for medical services only as a supplement to an efficiently functioning free system, for the opposite could only aggravate the already difficult social problems existing in this area.

### Housing and Paying for It

In our country the housing problem remains stressed, as confirmed by the letters of our readers. Many of them describe difficult housing conditions, the long years of waiting for private apartments and frequent abuses and violations of social justice in the allocation of housing. Naturally, it is also a question of the principles governing our housing policy, based on free housing granted to the bulk of the people who need it, and low rents.

In discussing the first of these concepts, R. Livshits, candidate of philosophical sciences, Komsomolsk-na-Amure, notes that "If free housing is a principle of social policy it must be universal.... However, more than 20 percent of new housing is based on cooperative and individual construction. In other words, society provides housing to four out of five people and one out of five must pay the full price." Furthermore, there is no objective socially determined criterion for the rating of people into those who are entitled to free housing and those who must buy it. The same opinion is expressed by engineer A. Medvedev and Candidate of Economic Sciences S. Ilin from Moscow, Doctor of Geological-Mineralogical Sciences V. Konishchev from Minsk and many other readers.

What worsens the situation is the low rent of state housing. Currently rent subsidies amount to 9.8 billion rubles annually, paid under the conditions of extreme differentiation in availability of housing: Whereas the average is 14.9 square meters of general area per person, millions of families do not have even one-third of this area and live in hostels. On the other hand, there are frequent cases in which a single person will have 20 to 30 square meters. As a result, as writes Doctor of Economic Sciences I. Krichvskiy from Moscow, "Some people receive large and steady subsidies from society while others are deprived not only of such subsidies but even of normal housing. In practical terms, it is the first group that benefits from concealed additional income at the expense of the second, above all the low-income groups."

Let us add to this that essentially there is no differentiation in paying for housing based on quality. A. Berlin, from Leningrad, notes that today "It so happens that rents for superb apartments with all conveniences, in the most prestigious part of the city and for one room in a communal apartment, with no conveniences whatsoever, somewhere in the distant suburbs, are the same."

The social unfairness of the existing situation, according to which one-half of the population living in state-owned apartments pays less than one-third of current outlays, while the other half pays in full not only for capital but also for all current operational expenditures for the upkeep of housing, is unquestionable. It would be fair for those who live under relatively worse conditions or are forced to pay for their housing to receive a monetary compensation at the expense of those who have high surplus free housing, in terms of space or quality.

There are those who object to this. Judging by the letters we received, essentially most such objections are based on comparing the current imperfect system of housing allocation and payment with the principles of socialism. Typical in this respect is the question asked by V. Ustinov from Semipalatinsk: "How can we promote the Soviet way of life if we abandon full and free health care and low payments for communal services?" We believe that the reason for such questions lies in the absolutizing of individual principles in the organization of socialist society, which are justified and socially fair during some stages in its development and unjustified during other. "Under some historical circumstances," writes R. Livshits, "the aspiration to achieve social justice is consistent with free services; in other, it involves paying for housing. In the 1930s or 1950s, when mass-scale housing construction was not taking place and the population simply lacked the necessary funds to purchase housing, free allocation was entirely fair and the only acceptable method which did not impose a burden on the state... In the mid-1980s the situation is radically different. The tremendous scope of housing construction has drastically increased the burden on the state budget. Increased well-being created prerequisites for the population to be able more actively to participate with its own funds in the solution of the housing problem. The paradox which has appeared is that millions of people are prepared to pay for an apartment out of their own pockets but the state is unwilling to take that money although it is unable substantially to increase the scale of construction within a short time. From an efficient means of solving the housing problem, free housing allocation has become a hindrance to development: under contemporary conditions it is both unfair and burdensome to the state."

It is entirely obvious, however, that restructuring the system of housing allocation and payment is a very difficult problem which affects the interests of the entire nation. In this case hasty decisions are absolutely inadmissible. Difficult questions arise to which no simple answer exists. This is reflected in the mail as well. One such question is: Should the principles of free housing be

extended to all or only to housing area occupied in excess of the set minimum? Views on this account vary. Most readers consider self-evident paying only for housing granted over and above the stipulated limit, both in quantitative and qualitative terms. Some nonetheless believe that such payments would be nothing but the latest palliative; in particular, this would not allow the state to obtain the entire amount of money needed for expanding housing construction.

Naturally, the question of involving population funds in solving the housing problem should not be underestimated. In 1960 the USSR was in second place in the world in the number of housing units per 10,000 population (121) but fell to 11th in 1980 (75). In the past 20 years the pace of housing availability did not increase. It averaged 0.22 square meters per person per year between 1961 and 1965 and 0.2 meters in 1980-1985. At this rate we would need more than 50 years to attain the present level of the GDR (26 square meters per person). Meanwhile, capital investments in housing exceed 30 billion rubles annually. Today they are increasing rapidly. However, financing such an increase out of the state budget is difficult. The most important means of increasing capital investments in this area is using the population's funds.

However, the increased income of the state cannot be considered the objective of the housing reform. The main thing is to improve the efficiency of social guarantees granted in this area which, obviously, today are inseparable from free housing within the limits of a guaranteed minimum. Similarly, rents should be increased above all for using surplus housing area.

From the viewpoint of social guarantees the mandatory purchasing of apartments from the state fund, on which some readers insist, appears unjustified. Could we consider fair such payments for state apartments obtained some time ago by people who are now retired, particularly those who have no surplus housing? The main reserves lie elsewhere. Furthermore, imposing upon the citizens the obligation of paying for something which has already been provided free of charge could by no means contribute to increasing confidence in the state. A law cannot be retroactive. No compensations and benefits would solve the problem in this case.

Nonetheless, a planned system of benefits is necessary in order to implement obviously expedient steps to increase payments for housing (increased share of cooperative construction, higher rentals for surplus housing, etc.). We believe that special benefits should be granted to young families who are given housing. In this case loans, partially canceled by the state after the birth of a child, could play a major role. Such a mechanism would enable us to convert payments for housing into an active instrument of demographic policy, whereas the present system of allocation of housing is a major hindrance to

increasing the birth rate. Granting young families housing on credit would substantially enhance the stimulating role of wages and lead to progressive changes in the consumption structure.

A system of sensible benefits could reduce to a minimum the number of people who would lose from the enactment of the new principles of payment for housing. The belief that no one would suffer would be wrong. Above all, it would affect people who are now placed in an unjustifiably privileged position. It is those who are relatively deprived as well as society as a whole who would benefit.

### On the Problem of Prices

The price reform, including changes in retail prices of food, is yet another most crucial problem which affects the readers.

Let us briefly describe the viewpoints expressed in the letters.

The first of the arguments in favor of increasing retail prices is shortcomings in the distribution of food products. Indeed, in a situation marked by shortages and the scarcity of some products, the more the price of a commodity deviates from balanced prices, from prices which balance supply with demand, the greater becomes the role of rationed consumption. Today, the result of such distribution has been an essential unevenness in the availability of food supplies in different parts of the country, oblasts, cities and rayons. The existence of shortages has brought to life an abundance of "covert distribution" channels and unjustified benefits and abuses (A. Aleksandrov from Irkutsk writes, in particular, about the unfairness of "territorial," "official" and "departmental" benefits in the allocation of food products). Naturally, we could claim, as does economist F. Bokov from Moscow, that the different accessibility to inexpensive foodstuffs, as well as other disparities in living standards, are defined by the law of distribution according to labor, which "excludes the equality of all people in terms of material status." However, this is "according to labor." No one, we believe, would dare say that the population of capital cities works more and better than, shall we say, the working people in Saratov or Novosibirsk. It is true that some readers (including Docent V. Chevnenko from Pavlodar and Candidate of Economic Sciences D. Sorokin from Moscow) believe that the situation can be corrected by perfecting the system of "rationing," specifically by extending rationing in the consumption of scarce meat and dairy products purchased at current state retail prices to the entire country. In their view, the introduction of "good rationing" is preferable and more efficient than raising prices and making compensatory payments. Other readers, conversely, believe that the orientation itself toward "rationing" would trigger unjustified incentives given to some social groups at the expense of others.

The second argument quoted in favor of raising prices is the uneconomical consumption of food products. We are well familiar with numerous cases of feeding bread to cattle, also mentioned by our readers. Unfortunately, they point out in their letters, not all appeals to thrift have had the necessary results. Clearly, economic steps must be taken (as specifically mentioned by Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Khayrullin from Ufa).

Another argument in favor, the readers believe, is that the low level of prices has led to the scarcity of some products. In particular, in terms of the overall volume of butter production, our country is in leading position in the world. This, however, does not prevent butter (the retail price of which is lower by a factor of 2.5 compared to the average state production costs) remains one of the products in very short supply (as pointed out by Candidates of Economic Sciences O. Sayenko and Yu. Shev-yakhov from Moscow). Furthermore, excessive demand for foodstuffs, which is also related to the adverse structure of the working people's expenditures, triggers insufficient demand for durable goods. The higher prices of many light industry and other sectorial goods (which compensate for the low cost of foodstuffs), as notes Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Parasochka from Moscow Oblast, result in their limited consumption and the accumulation of surpluses of some items.

Other suggestions on making price changes deal with the imperfection of the existing system of consumer subsidies. As we know, their amount has been growing much more rapidly than the volume of retail trade. Thus, between 1966 and 1986 the amount of subsidies for meat and dairy products increased by a factor of 16, while sales of such products increased by no more than 2.7. This increase is based on the increased cost of virtually all agricultural commodities. In 20 years (from the 8th to the 11th 5-year periods) annual growth rates averaged 5 percent for cattle fattening and 4 percent for milk. It is becoming increasingly more difficult for the state to pay for such increases.

The allocation of subsidies is poorly correlated with the principles of social justice. Subsidies are benefiting only those who purchase foodstuffs through the state trading system. However, these are by no means the most needy. Most frequently it is the opposite. Many readers have expressed the view that the compensated increase in food prices benefits the higher paid population groups, whereas low prices are consistent with the interests of low-income groups. Actually, the system of territorial priorities in consumption, the allocation of food at places of work regardless of the size of the family, and the accessibility of channels of "closed distribution," benefiting above all individuals with relatively high incomes, have led to the fact that, judging by results of budget studies, the families of workers and employees with an income of under 50 rubles per person per month pay 30 percent more per kilogram of meat compared with families with income in excess of 150 rubles per

person. In other words, pensioners and large families today buy meat at prices much higher than highly paid workers employed in management, science or material production.

The most important argument in favor of restructuring of retail prices is related to the fact that preserving the present system of subsidies conflicts with the logic of the initiated economic reform and the principles of the new economic management mechanism. This has been pointed out by a number of readers, who believe that the gap between retail prices and production costs distorts the system of purchase prices, disorients enterprises and the population, hinders the shaping of an optimal structure for the production of foodstuffs and does not allow us objectively to determine the efficiency of individual economic sectors.

Furthermore, we should also note the arguments of those who oppose any increase in foodstuff prices. The main among them is disbelief in the possibility of making the type of compensation payments which would make it possible to prevent losses incurred from higher prices for the lowest paid population strata. This is mentioned, among others, by D. Sorokin. He notes in his letter that the "freeing" of prices under conditions of self-financing and self-support, and their orientation toward production costs or consumer demand could lead to further uncontrolled price increases and actually "encouraging" the outlay mechanism (this fear is also shared by Doctor of Economic Sciences N. Berkov from Kiev).

The essence of the other opposing argument is expressed in the question asked by D. Sorokin: "Is there any assurance that after state retail prices of meat and dairy products have been raised that their stocks in state retail trade per capita will become the same for Moscow and Yakutsk? If not, are we not deluding ourselves on the subject of achieving social justice?"

Unquestionably, increasing the retail prices of foodstuffs would be justified only if the result is a balanced market, i.e., a situation in which the question of stocks allocated per person whether in Moscow or Yakutsk would become meaningless and regional differences in commodity marketing would be based on differences in consumer demand. The most important problem, the solution of which would actually make a review of retail prices justified, is precisely the elimination of the "state price deficit." The solution of this problem would drastically narrow the gap between state and market prices by reducing demand for goods sold outside the trade network. In simple terms, a competitor of the market would appear in areas in which today he is virtually absent. Among others this is confirmed by the experience of major retail price reviews of the 1930s and 1940s.

Finally, one more argument in favor of price stabilization is based on ideological reasons. In the view of a number of readers (such as Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Pasechnik from Kiev) higher retail prices

would "trigger dissatisfaction among the population and undermine the confidence of the people in the party's plans and in restructuring." Naturally, we cannot ignore such warnings. The establishment of and the support given by social forces interested in change is the most important prerequisite for the implementation of the economic reform. We believe, however, that we should not belittle the ability of the people to realize the need for taking some obligatory and not all that attractive steps. We believe that bringing to light this need rather than rejecting expedient change is one of the tasks of our social scientists. Long years of unwillingness openly to discuss, and even less, to adopt "tough" and clearly unpopular measures has been one of the reasons for the lack in many people of an understanding of the entire difficulty of the present stage in the development of Soviet society (as reflected in the letters). Views that some kind of evil fate is taking from the people away what rightfully belongs to them are occasionally expressed and so is the wish to have more regardless of sources.

Naturally, all of us are in favor of a high level of consumption. However, it can be achieved only with an adequate level of output. This is obvious. Other possibilities of increasing income, as writes Candidate of Philosophical Sciences B. Shaptalov from Magnitogorsk, involve "stealing from future generations."

Many letters expressed the fear that price increases would not contribute in the least to perfecting the activities of the Gosagroprom, the growth of labor productivity and the lowering of production costs. Muscovite I. Ivanov, for example, notes that "...The product will remain excessively high and including the actual production cost in the price without any major changes and updating the economic mechanism of the agroprom and its foreign relations may only create the appearance of success...."

It is an obvious fact that the high cost of food products reflects the insufficiently efficient utilization of the resources channeled into the agroindustrial complex. Naturally, this problem cannot be resolved by any kind of change in retail prices alone. "In order to correct the situation," reader N. Berkov emphasizes, "we have no way other than to improve labor productivity and, on this basis, to lower production costs." Unless we halt the adverse dynamics of production costs, even after price increases agricultural commodities will become a socially losing item. We need a radical restructuring in the management system and a substantial change in priorities in investment policy, i.e., the systematic implementation of the steps already earmarked by the party. It is precisely their implementation that will enable us maximally to meet demand with favorable price dynamics. To assume that success can be achieved immediately, in one fell swoop or through a one-time act means to substitute wishing for reality.

However, the question of prices plays a major role in this connection. Based on data on meat and meat product consumption in the most "favorable" areas, the conclusion is that the saturation of the market with any real increase in the volume of output and while retaining existing state prices is a problem which cannot be solved in the foreseeable future. It is precisely this and not a simple increase in subsidies (which are being extensively used in both socialist and capitalist countries) that explains the need for a revision of retail prices. If as a result of the reform we are unable to achieve a balance of the market, the reform would lose a great deal of its meaning.

Another fear which imbues many letters is that under the banner of the struggle for social justice steps may be taken aimed at lowering real population income. Naturally, actual changes in living standards are characterized above all by a number of other factors, such as the dynamics of efficiency of public production, the distribution of the national income into consumption and accumulation funds and changes in the share of expenditures related to securing the country's defense capability. The policy in the area of prices, wages and public consumption funds determines only the manner in which the created consumer goods and services are distributed among the individual population groups. However, rejecting on such grounds fears caused by the possibility of a restructuring of the retail price system would be essentially wrong. The people have the right to and must know what would be done in such a case to protect their living standards and prevent the adverse effect which such measures may have on the real income of the various population groups.

It is only if economic restructuring directly lead to increased people's well-being that we could rely on increased social activeness and a strengthening of the social foundations for change. The mail received by *Kommunist* is one more proof of this fact.

A socioeconomic reform is possible only when the forces interested in it are superior to those interested in preserving the existing situation. Characteristically, in discussing the initial steps of restructuring, the readers also write about its opponents and about those who hesitate or are indifferent to innovations. This confirms the relevance of the need for objective interpretation of the development of the reforms under way. In this case it is inevitable that a number of socioeconomic and political problems would either appear or become aggravated. As practical experience indicates, it is impossible accurately to predict all "surprises" with total accuracy. There is nothing frightening about this if we have a functional "feedback" system which would enable us to solve the gravest problems or if society, without hoping for a miracle, would know in advance the changes which would take place and the manner in which they would affect the living standard of the different social groups of working people.

Directly related to this is the accusation of "historical limitation" expressed, in particular, by A. Voytolovskaya from Novosibirsk, addressed to the authors of some articles published in *Kommunist*. In her view, limiting the study to rather small time segments hinders the enhancement of the creative energy of the masses and the "spiritual elevation of the people." Conversely, other readers believe that abstract considerations concerning the distant future and unjustified promises such as the familiar "the present generation of Soviet people will live under communism," have hindered and continue to hinder the sober analysis of the current situation and the formulation of the most efficient suggestions on changing the developing situation.

Long years of wrong forecasts made by social scientists and excessive enthusiasm for "scholastic arguments on the accuracy of using commodity-monetary relations and economic-mathematical methods under socialism, the development of private auxiliary farms, and so on" (as Docent I. Povarich from Kemerovo writes) and an abundance of wishes such as "we must develop" and "we must create" (noted by Minsk sociologist E. Skorobogatyy) undermine the trust in social scientists (which is the topic discussed by V. Kozlov from Tbilisi, V. Savin from Gorkiy and others). The situation can be corrected only by openly discussing the planned reforms (without any effort to simplify them) and by reviewing the mechanism governing their formulation and implementation.

It would be difficult to hope for any success of the measures for ideological-political and moral support for the reform without knowledge of the interests, concepts and priorities of all social groups. The process of consolidation of social forces which support restructuring and which is taking place in society is a prerequisite for its success.

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### Ordinary Racism

18020003s Moscow *KOMMUNIST* in Russian No 15, Oct 87 (signed to press 5 Oct 87) pp 123-125

[Review by D. Lisobolik of the book "*Chernyye Amerikantsy v Istorii SShA (1526-1985)*" [Black Americans in U.S. History (1526-1985)]. In two volumes. Edited by R. F. Ivanov (responsible editor), I. A. Geyevskiy and N. V. Mostovets. Mysl, Moscow, 1986.]

[Text] For quite some time the world has not seen such unrestrained inflation of words and statements as the one which is growing under our own eyes in connection with the 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution. The ruling circles in the United States are making use of this anniversary for mounting an extensive propaganda campaign in praise of American constitutionalism and the

political rights and freedoms which it allegedly guarantees. A flood of praise of bourgeois democracy along with hypocritical moaning on the subject of imaginary violations of human rights in the socialist countries and in countries with a progressive orientation are literally flooding the international public. However, words are nothing but words and the gap between them and actual American reality is becoming increasingly striking.

In his time Engels wrote that "Capitalism shows no greater respect for the equal right of the majority to happiness than did slavery or serfdom" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 21, pp 297-298). This conclusion is entirely confirmed with the example of one of the phenomena of social life in the United States—the racism which prevails in that country.

Today racism in the United States is not only alive but has assumed an even broader nature, intensifying its antihuman and reactionary nature. The exposure of this most shameful legacy of the past and its many manifestations under contemporary conditions is the topic of a joint two-volume work written by Soviet and American authors. Some of those who worked on this fundamental project include the noted U.S. Communist Party leader Gus Hall, the now deceased Henry Winston and Professor Herbert Apteker.

Essentially for the first time, on a serious scientific basis, using Soviet and American archives, the authors study many aspects of the history of Afro-Americans, from colonial times to the present. The achievements of Soviet historical science, which has made a substantial contribution to the study of Negro problems in the United States, have been creatively interpreted and assessed. The very important political significance of the truly scientific, Marxist-Leninist study of this problem is noted in the preface by H. Winston. "Unfortunately," he wrote, "not everyone is still aware of the fact that in the richest imperialist country 30 million Afro-Americans are under the triple exploitation of the state of monopoly capital: as workers, as a national minority and as people with a different color of the skin. Many people still do not realize that racism, which is aimed at the blacks in the United States, is actually waging war on democracy as a whole and the labor movement in particular. The struggle for racial equality inevitably blends with the struggle against class exploitation and is an intrinsic part of the class struggle" (vol 1, p 10).

The conclusion in this two-volume work is that under contemporary conditions the main reason for the fact that the U.S. ruling circles are preserving and artificially cultivating racism is that the superexploitation of black citizens in the country is yielding many billions of profits to the American monopolies. The U.S. Communist Party program emphasizes that "Both racism and class oppression are intrinsic components of capitalist exploitation and that a special connection links them."

The black problem in the United States is a most complex set of socioeconomic, sociopolitical, civic-legal and racial problems the roots of which go deep in American history. The contemporary condition of this problem cannot be understood without the study of the main events in the country's history. The authors provide a broad panoramic view of these events: slavery and the black liberation movement during the colonial period, the black problem in the struggle for independence of 1775-1783, the black problem in the period preceding the 1861-1865 civil war and the role and place of the black problem in the course of the civil war and the reconstruction of the south of 1865-1867, when the question of adapting the entire life of the former slave-owning states to the interests of the capitalist development of the country and the specific nature of the Negro problem under the conditions of a transition from "free" capitalism to imperialism was being solved.

The influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the Negro movement is legitimately emphasized in modern history. The features of the black problem in the period between the two world wars, in 1929-1933 in particular, when the world economic crisis broke out, and the influence of World War II on the status and struggle waged by black Americans for their rights and against racial discrimination are legitimately emphasized and highlighted. Most of the second volume deals with the study of black problems in the postwar period.

The authors reached the substantiated conclusion that the problems of black Americans, which have become increasingly aggravated, have been solved not through reforms, as the defenders of American constitutionalism are claiming, but in the course of a fierce resistance and revolutionary struggle. The stages of this struggle clearly indicate that no reforms in interracial relations, even radical ones, have ever been able to provide a total solution to the socioeconomic and sociopolitical problems of black Americans. The current condition of the black problem in the United States convincingly confirms the accuracy of Lenin's conclusion to the effect that "Capitalism cannot 'encompass' any type of liberation other than legal and that even the latter comes out comprehensively curtailed" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 22, p 345).

Indeed, after World War II the stubborn struggle waged by black Americans for their rights, supported by all progressive forces in the country, yielded certain results. A number of civil rights laws were passed in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s. However, as a socioeconomic and sociopolitical phenomenon, racial discrimination not only remains in the United States but is steadily showing a tendency to escalate. Racism and the cult of white supremacy remain the invariable companions of the American way of life. The entire content of the work unequivocally and convincingly proves that slavery, followed by racism, has been a law governing the development of American capitalism and its most typical feature.

An important political aspect of the problem is that by cultivating racism the reactionary forces in the United States are trying to set against one another white and black working people and to prevent their unification within a single antimonopoly front. In this case, as the authors note, capitalist power shies at nothing, from deceit and bribery to racist pogroms. As Lenin emphasized as early as the turn of the century, the American bourgeoisie "is unequal on earth in its ability to trick, corrupt and bribe the workers" (op. cit., vol 15, p 244). Since then this dirty "art" has become even more refined.

Top officials in the present administration and imperialist propaganda do everything possible to instill in the minds of the people on earth the myth of the United States as the paradise of the "free world." They try not only to conceal the vicious system of class exploitation which prevails in the country but also the existence of national and racial oppression. "We," President Reagan orates, "can be proud of our achievements in the area of civil rights." What, specifically, are the reasons for such pride?

In the work under review the leaders of the U.S. Communist Party cite facts which are not denied even by official America: The income of black families declined from 62 percent of that of the white at the beginning of the 1970s to 57 percent in 1985. The number of unemployed among the blacks, including those who have lost any hope of finding jobs and have stopped looking for work, as well as those who are only partially employed, today accounts for about 25 percent of the working people. Almost one-third of all Afro-Americans have incomes below the official "poverty line." The legitimate conclusion which G. Hall makes of this fact is that Afro-Americans "were deprived of some of their gains by the current administration, which holds antilabor and antiblack positions."

Black Americans have become not only the first victims of the course charted by the Reagan administration of freezing social programs. They also are the victims of the Ku Klux Klan and militants from other openly functioning racist organizations which sense their impunity. The "power role" of the official guardians of public order has been substantially enhanced under the Reagan administration. Suffice it to mention the terrorist act of the Philadelphia police, the police of that same city where, 200 years ago, the Constitutional Convention approved the text of the constitution. As we know, the police dropped from a helicopter a powerful incendiary bomb on a black district, as a result of which many Afro-Americans died in the fire. Such actions of gross violence are manifestations of ordinary racism American style.

The authors accurately emphasize that U.S. history offers numerous examples of extreme hypocrisy and sanctimoniousness displayed by the country's ruling circles. Actually, it would be difficult to find a parallel of the openly pharisaic statements made by Americans who

worry today about "human rights" in the USSR and the other socialist countries. It is clear that such provocative campaigns are largely aimed at drawing the attention of the American and international public away from the grossest possible violations of the rights of national minorities in the United States itself.

The authors have made a thorough study of the problems of the strategy and tactics of the struggle waged by black Americans against all forms of oppression, including racial. Historical experience teaches that it is only workers, farmers and the labor intelligentsia who can be the true allies of black Americans. The alliance between white and black working people is of permanent significance in waging a successful struggle against racial discrimination. It is "intensifying," the programmatic documents of the U.S. Communist Party note, "as an ever growing number of Afro-Americans and members of other oppressed ethnic groups are joining the ranks of the working class."

The authors systematically promote the idea that the main bulwark of world imperialism and militarism—the United States—is also the strongest bastion of racism. Therefore, racism and militarism are marching hand in hand. They are similar phenomena which draw their strength from the power course of the present rulers of the country. In the light of this aspiration on the part of the most reactionary circles of the ruling class in the United States to gain military superiority and the possibility of dictating its policy to the rest of the world constitute a particular danger to all contemporary civilization. The inevitable conclusion is that the policy of diktat, and great-power and chauvinistic manners displayed by the U.S. leadership in the international arena are essentially manifestations of efforts to apply racist principles to the entire global community. That is why the struggle for the liquidation of such a distorted anachronism as racism in the United States is also a struggle against the American policy of hegemonism, the unrestrained arms race mounted by Washington and the threat of an annihilating nuclear conflagration hanging over mankind.

The authors of this work have completed a major substantive work on the study of one of the most complex problems in American history. Nonetheless, we cannot fail to note that not all chapters and parts of the work are of equal value or completed on a high theoretical standard. A certain schematism is inherent in particular in the chapter on World War II. The study of the ideology of the black liberation movement in the postwar period is clearly insufficient. It was hardly expedient to base the structure of the second volume on the coming to power of one administration or another.

These remarks, however, do not lower, as a whole, the merits of this relevant work and its scientific and practical significance. Anyone profoundly interested in contemporary U.S. problems, including the situation of black Americans in that country, would unquestionably benefit from it.

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### Short Book Reviews

18020003t Moscow *KOMMUNIST* in Russian No 15, Oct 87 (signed to press 5 Oct 87) pp 125-126

[Reviewed by G. Avrekh and Ye. Shchuking, candidates of economic sciences]

[Text] L. I. Lopatnikov. "*Ekonomiko-Matematicheskii Slovar*" [Economic-Mathematical Dictionary]. Nauka, Moscow, 1987, 510 pp.

Mastery of economic-mathematical methods has become an urgent need for specialists studying or doing practical work in theoretical and applied areas of the economy. They can be greatly assisted in this by the "Economic-Mathematical Dictionary," compiled by L. I. Lopatnikov, which is a developed edition of his "*Kratkiy Ekonomiko-Matematicheskii Slovar*" [Short Economic-Mathematical Dictionary] which was published by Izdatelstvo Nauka in 1979.

This dictionary, which was compiled on a rather high scientific level and, at the same time, with simple yet not simplistically explained concepts of this important area of the science of economics, is for use by specialists and a wide range of readers. Its unquestionable merit is its rich content and accessibility, which the author has been able to achieve by combining a strict mathematical presentation with clear explanations of the meanings and limits of applicability of one scientific method or another. The dictionary informs us of phenomena and processes studied by the science of economics rather than merely the approaches to their study with the help of a mathematical apparatus. Let us also note the fullness of the presentation of the contemporary state of economic-mathematical methods it includes and the "classics" of this discipline as well as the latest achievements in this area. Unfortunately, the items in this publication do not include a critical interpretation of problems of the application of economic-mathematical methods in economic practice.

The stylistic unity and fullness of description of the formal and meaningful aspects of the discipline make this dictionary essentially a work of popular science, dedicated to economic-mathematical methods, distinguished from other such works by the "terminological structure" selected by the author. However, having successfully surmounted some disparities in domestic economic terminology (as applicable, for example, to concepts such as "sector," "production," etc.), nonetheless in a number of areas the author departs from the strictness of definitions which are standard for this science.



Today economic-mathematical methods are applied throughout the world. Nonetheless, English-language terminology has become the most widespread in international communications. Its inclusion in the new dictionaries greatly facilitates the study by economists of foreign specialized economic-mathematical publications.

Supporters of the purity of the Russian language will probably complain of such an abundance of borrowings from foreign languages. The latter, obviously, are the inevitable consequences of our annoying lag in the area of cybernetics. It is to the credit of the author that, using his dictionary, in the majority of cases one can painlessly convert to purely Russian terminology by using unusual and hard to remember words.

Frequently our publishers lean to the publication of translated popular books on mathematical economics written by specialists in the capitalist countries. On this basis the uninformed reader could draw the conclusion that economic-mathematical methods are either not applied or in domestic science and practice from the outside. To some extent this dictionary fills the gap which has developed in the publication of popular economic works by Soviet authors.

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### Conference on the October Revolution

18020003u Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 87 (signed to press 5 Oct 87) p 126

[Text] An international conference "On the Creative Development of Marxism-Leninism," dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, was held in Warsaw on 22-24 September. The conference was organized by *Nowe Drogi*, the theoretical and political organ of the PZPR Central Committee. It was attended by representatives of the journals *Novo Vreme* (Bulgarian Communist Party), *Tarsadalmi Szemle* (MSZMP), *Tap Thi Kong Shan* (Vietnamese Communist Party), *Einheit* (SED), *Kadaya Al-Asr* (Yemen Socialist Party), *Kyllochzha* (Korean Labor Party), *Cuba Socialista* (Cuban Communist Party), *Alun May* (Laotian People's Revolutionary Party), *Namyn Amdral* (Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party), *Nowe Drogi* (PZPR), *Era Socialiste* (Romanian Communist Party), *Kommunist* (CPSU), *Nova Mysl* (Czechoslovak Communist Party), *Meskerem* (Ethiopian Labor Party) and *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, the theoretical and information journal of the Communist and Worker Parties.

In their reports and the discussion which took place, the participants in the conference emphasized the universal-historical significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution. They noted the need and importance of

using the general laws governing party and state building and taking into consideration the characteristics and national specifics in the activities of the parties in guiding the building and development of the new social system. The conviction was expressed that the realities of the nuclear-space age, when the very existence of civilization is at stake, call for giving priority to universal values. It was also pointed out, however, that the new thinking, based on Marxist-Leninist ideology, confirms the creative power of the theory of the class struggle and the dialectics of human progress toward higher forms of social organization.

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### After Publication in *Kommunist*

18020003v Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 15, Oct 87 (signed to press 5 Oct 87) pp 126-127

[Text] Materials on the roundtable meeting held by the journal jointly with the Leningrad CPSU Obkom at the Izhorskiy Zavod imeni A. A. Zhdanov were published in three *Kommunist* issues in 1986 and 1987 ("Social Vector of Acceleration," No 18, 1986 and Nos 1 and 2, 1987). The authors received a number of answers to the questions raised in the course of the discussion. The measures taken to correct shortcomings in the organization of the production process and to promote the long-term development of the enterprise were reported by V. Kalchenko, USSR deputy minister of machine tool and tool building industry, Ye. Smirnov, USSR deputy minister of instrument making, automation equipment and control systems, L. Radyukevich, USSR first deputy minister of ferrous metallurgy, and V. Zorichev, chief, department of power and nuclear machine building, USSR Gosplan.

Among others, the answer received from the USSR Minstankoprom acknowledges the just critical remarks concerning the level of technical servicing of metal cutting equipment with numerical programming. The ministry has set up in Leningrad a center for technical servicing of machine tools with ChPU. The center is being equipped with mobile diagnostic laboratories. It has modern equipment, measuring facilities and computers. A system of standard assignments is being applied for the production of planned-preventive repairs and technical servicing, which set a direct correlation between the amount of wages and the quality and deadline of the work done. The creation of a regional center this very year will increase the volume of servicing metal processing equipment with ChPU by a factor of 1.5 compared with 1986, improve the quality of repairs and shorten their duration.



The USSR Minpribor has informed the editors on differences with the organizations of the USSR Mintyazhmash and Minchermet on problems of the creation of automated technological sets for the equipment of the Mill 5000. The reasons for delays in formulating initial stipulations for the development of ASU were considered at conferences held by the Mintyazhmash, Minpribor and USSR Gosplan.

The answer notes that the critical remarks expressed by I. N. Semenov, head of a turners brigade at the Izhorskiy Zavod Production Association, on the inconvenient equipment with small display screen are justified. Currently the Minpribor enterprises are completing the development of prototypes of a ChPU system which will include controls of heavy machine tools, equipped with wider screens.

The USSR Minchermet reports that the reconstruction of steel smelting facilities at the Izhorskiy Zavod Production Association is right on schedule. An electric furnace with a 50-ton capacity was successfully commissioned in 1986. The technical specifications for the construction of the new electrosteel smelting shop with an electric furnace with a 125-ton capacity have been coordinated, approved and submitted to the customer—the Izhorskiy Zavod Production Association.

Following the roundtable meeting at the Izhorskiy Zavod Production Association, in coordination with the USSR Minchermet institutes, Lengipromez was issued a technological assignment for the construction of a department of exothermal mixing. Lengipromez has currently undertaken the designing of this facility.

Lengipromez has submitted to the customer the technical assignment for the building of a new thermal shop for the Mill 5000, which is currently being coordinated in terms of equipment and delivery schedules with enterprises of the USSR Mintyazhmash.

The USSR Gosplan notes in its answer that in order to ensure the timely completion of target projects for the first part of the sheet rolling complex with the Mill 5000 at the Izhorskiy Zavod Production Association, the USSR Gosplan was instructed to allocate to the USSR Mintyazhmash for 1987-1990 the necessary amount of construction machinery, mechanisms, equipment and transport facilities and to take into consideration assignments issued by union republics to send 500 workers annually to participate in the building of said projects. These assignments are being implemented. The USSR Mintyazhmash has essentially completed formulations and coordinations with all interested ministries other than the USSR Minpribor, of a comprehensive plan-schedule for designing and manufacturing the basic technological equipment, the integrated automated control system and the computation of cost estimates for building the Mill 5000. Differences between the USSR Mintyazhmash and USSR Minpribor are being ironed out.

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### Meetings With the Editors

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[Text] The editors were visited by a group of representatives of the communist press of Latin American countries, including journalists from the newspapers *Que Pasa* (Argentine Communist Party), *Unidad* (Bolivian Communist Party), *Voz* (Colombian Communist Party), *Unidad* (Peruvian Communist Party), *Hora* and *Popular* (Uruguayan Communist Party), and *Pueblo* (Ecuadorian Communist Party). In their talk with their Latin American colleagues, *Kommunist* associates answered numerous questions on restructuring in the USSR and discussed ways of broadening cooperation between their journal and the periodicals of the fraternal parties.

The editors were visited by C. S. Carol, political commentator of the French weekly *Nouvel Observateur*. The guest obtained detailed information on the radical restructuring of economic activities in the USSR, the processes of democratization and glasnost and progressive changes in the country's intellectual life, including literature and the arts. He presented his views on the latest trends in French political life.

An exchange of views on a wide range of problems of contemporary international politics was held at a meeting between the editors and senior personnel of *Mundo Obrero*, the newspaper of the Spanish Communist Party Central Committee, I. Garcia and N. Morra, who are visiting the USSR on the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. The guests were interested in CPSU ideological work related to restructuring and the renovation of Soviet society.

Problems of the comprehensive renovation of Soviet society and its influence on the development of the revolutionary process in the world, including Latin America, were discussed at a meeting between the editors and V. M. Zapata, head of sector, Department of Propaganda of the Sandinista Front for the National Liberation of Nicaragua.

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